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THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The Blue Books presented to Parliament, at the close of the Session, we had fully hoped would have afforded us some information of the state of the slave-trade up to the end of the year 1850, so that we might have had an opportunity of forming a judgment of the reports, which, it is said, justify the statements lately put forth as to the decided decrease of the slave-trade. But, on examination, we find that they contain no particulars as to Brazil and the Spanish colonies, which had not previously appeared in the Appendix to the Report of the Lords' Committee on the Slave-trade, an abstract of which will be found in the *Reporters* for September and October of last year. We must content ourselves, therefore, with making such additional extracts as may be interesting to our readers.

TRIPOLI.

Mr. Consul Crowe, writing to Lord Palmerston from Tripoli, under date March 1st, 1849, says:—

"I regret to state that during the past year the traffic in slaves has continued undiminished. The numbers brought to this place from Soudan and Bornou, by the caravans of Mourzouk and Ghadames, amount to more than 1,200, of whom, as usual, two-thirds at least were young females.

"By a report received from Vice-consul Herman it appears that 1,262 slaves, brought to Bengasi from Waday, had been embarked during the past year at that port for different parts of the Levant.

"The total number exported from the Regency within the year has exceeded 2,000."—*Slave-trade Papers, Class B.*, 1849, p. 383.

Acting Consul General Reade, in a despatch to Lord Palmerston, dated Tripoli, August 24th, 1849, thus refers to a horrifying account of the sufferings of a missing slave caravan. He remarks:—

"It is my painful duty to report to your lordship the occurrence of one of the most appalling disasters that ever took place in this quarter of the globe, connected with the slave traffic.

"A few days ago the news arrived here that a large caravan, with slaves, on its way from Bornou to Fezzan, had fallen short of water, and that a number of the persons composing it had perished in consequence; and whilst I was doubting as to the truth of it, I received a despatch from Mr. Vice-consul Gagliuffi, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose, confirming this report.

"It is horrible to think that these poor wretches should be torn from their homes for the purpose of satisfying their desire for money, and be subjected to so dreadful a death, perhaps through the carelessness of these avaricious slave-dealers."

The following is an extract of the despatch of Mr. Gagliuffi:—

"An express is just come in from Bornou; he brings the melancholy intelligence that the caravan of Arabs, which set out forty days before him, had lost a number of persons by death, in consequence of the want of water. Several Arabs, amongst whom were a son of Ben Alua, the chief of the town, eight little boys, all brothers, and other Arabs and Tibboos, about 1,600 slaves, forty horses, an infinite number of camels, which they killed, in order to drink their blood and the water in their stomachs, all died of thirst; they say it was a dreadful sight to see so many poor creatures suffer from thirst, and then die. It is truly enough to make any person shudder, who has a human heart, to think that so many unhappy wretches should be torn away from their parents, to die afterwards in such a dreadful manner, from the mere love of lucre, and those miserable men have no other crime than being born black. God grant that this infamous traffic may shortly cease."—*Ibid.* p. 394-5.

Mr. Consul Crowe, in a later report, dated Tripoli, January 20, 1850, furnishes an account of the extent of the slave traffic for the year 1849. His report also contains additional particulars of the awful sacrifice of human life before referred to by Mr. Gagliuffi.

"I have the honour to transmit herewith a statement of the number of slaves arrived here during the last year, being 275 males and 673 females. Of these, 770 have been exported to various ports of the Levant.

"I inclose also a statement from Vice-consul Herman, by which it appears that the number shipped from Bengazi, during the same period, has been 654, making a total of 1,424, sent from this Regency in the year 1849.

"In the preceding year, the numbers exported exceeded 2,000. This apparent decrease of the traffic would be very gratifying, if, unfortunately, it were not accounted for by the non-arrival of the great caravan from Waday, which Colonel Herman states to have been due since August last, and the one from Bornou, which ought to have arrived here some months ago.

"Your lordship will be grieved to learn that the reports I have received from Vice-consul Gagliuffi, respecting this caravan, are most disastrous. By the inclosed statement it will be seen, that of one division which left Bornou, consisting of 853 slaves, 195 died on the way, of disease, fatigue, and want of nourishment. The second division, amounting to 917, having wandered from the usual track across the desert, were three days without water, and when they arrived at some wells, where they hoped for relief, they found that the earth had fallen in, and filled them up. A dreadful scene of suffering, and violence, and despair, ensued; 600 miserable slaves perished there, on those burning sands, in the agonies of thirst.

"I regret to say, that according to M. Gagliuffi's statement, there has been, during the last year, a most deplorable increase in the number of unhappy beings torn from their homes in the Soudan and Bornou.

"In 1848, they amounted to 1,257, including, in the number that arrived at Mourzouk, those who died on the way.

"In 1849, the victims of this inhuman traffic were nearly doubled, having been 2,384; of these, ninety-eight died of disease and fatigue, after their arrival at Mourzouk."—*Ibid.* p. 400.

The following despatch of Consul Crowe, dated Tripoli, March 2nd, 1849, to Lord Palmerston, will show that the Ottoman Government had taken decisive steps to prevent the future implication of the chief magistrate of Tripoli in the slave-trade. Consul Crowe reports:—

"Having, in the course of last year, addressed some observations to her Majesty's ambassador at Constantinople upon the fact of the chief magistrate of this city being an extensive dealer in slaves, his Excellency brought the subject under the notice of the Ottoman Government, and a vizierial order was thereupon transmitted to the Governor of the Regency, prohibiting officers in the service of the Porte from engaging in the traffic.

"Having ascertained that this order was evaded, upon the pretext that it applied only to officers holding their appointments directly from the Porte, and not to those functionaries who, like the Governor of the city, were appointed by the Pasha, I reported the circumstance to Sir Stratford Canning, and I had the satisfaction to receive from his Excellency, not long afterwards, a despatch, inclosing the translation of a vizierial letter, copies of which I have the honour to transmit herewith, directing the Pasha, in very positive terms, to prevent all persons in public employments from taking any part in the commerce of slaves.

"This order has been obeyed; the Governor of the city has ceased to be a slave-dealer. The previous discouragement given to the trade by the closing of the slave-market at Constantinople, and the odium now cast upon it by making it disreputable, must naturally produce a serious effect upon those engaged in it, while such a manifestation of the feelings of the Government respecting this inhuman traffic encourages the hope of its ultimate and perhaps not distant abolition."

The following is the translation of a despatch of the Grand Vizier to the Pasha of Tripoli:—

"I wrote to you, a short time ago, to instruct you to prohibit the trade in slaves, in which several persons in the public employment at Tripoli are in the habit of engaging. I had a right, therefore, to suppose that

you would take measures to remedy this. It is said, however, that some of those public servants are still engaged in this trade. Now it is unnecessary for me to repeat to you, that this commerce is, from its nature, a bad thing, and that it is by no means fitting that public servants should be engaged in it.

"Your Excellency will therefore issue rigorous orders to this effect, to the persons concerned, and will take, without delay, the necessary steps for putting an end to this state of things; so that it may not again be necessary to write to you on this matter, and with this view I write to you the present letter."—*Ibid.* p. 383-4.

MUSCAT.

Lord Palmerston having received information from the India Board that, in contravention of the treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade with the Imaum of Muscat, a considerable number of slaves had been exported from the African dominions of the Imaum, and had been imported into his dominions in Asia and into Persia, he instructed the British consul to transmit all the information which he might be able to obtain respecting such exportation of slaves during the year 1849; at the same time reminding him to use every endeavour to prevent the exportation of slaves from the dominions of the Imaum, in contravention of the treaty concluded on the 2nd of October, 1845.

The following is the translated substance of a letter from an *employé*, Mollah Hussein, on the subject, dated September 19th, 1849:—

"I regret to report that, as far as I can learn, the practice of selling male and female slaves has been renewed in these quarters, and that they are now embarked from Zanzibar, the Sowahil, and Burburra, for Soor, Muscat, and the Batinat and Persian coasts. I have been informed that the Soor vessels, and others which frequent Zanzibar, the Sowahil, Burburra, and the coast of Yemen, have brought up numbers of male and female slaves, which have been landed in Soor, Muscat, and the Batinat coast, where they are openly sold, without any attempt at concealment, or any one interfering with them. From the ports above referred to slaves are re-transported to Bunder Abbas, Kishm, and the Persian coast. Three buglas, belonging to the subjects of Sheik Sultan bin Suggar, have visited Zanzibar the last season. The first vessel landed her slaves on the Batinat coast, and at Cusbeah, where the nakohda has a house, so that, on her arrival at Ras-el-khyma, she had none on board. The second bugla brought up a large cargo of slaves, most of which were landed in Soor, and the rest on the Batinat coast; she, therefore, brought none to Ras-el-khyma. The Shargah vessel landed her slaves on the Batinat coast, and at Rumps, where she remained. On the receipt of the letter which you addressed to Sheik Sultan on the subject of the slave-trade from Aboothabee, that chief sent orders to his son Ibrahim to seize whoever might bring any slaves, and inflict fitting punishment. This he did, that a report might be spread abroad. On the receipt of these instructions, Ibrahim arrested some persons concerned in this affair, and confined them till they made him a present secretly, when he set them at liberty. In like manner Sheik Sultan, when he returned to Ras-el-khyma, apprehended those concerned in bringing slaves, and pretended to deal with them severely. Upon this they agreed to pay him half the value of the slaves, and he let them go. I understand the Sheik has written to you to say that his people have not brought up any of this description of cargo.

"On the 15th of August, the bugla of the Sheik of Mohumrah arrived from the Red Sea. She was manned by subjects of Sheik Sultan bin Suggar. I am informed she had thirty female Abyssinian slaves on board. After a stay of five days she sailed for Mohumrah. It is impossible for me to say how many slaves have been imported into the Gulf this season, as they have been landed at Soor, the Batinat coast, &c. It is certain, however, that a great many of the inhabitants of the Arabian coast are deeply regretting that they were induced to abstain from proceeding to Zanzibar and the Sowahil last year for the purchase of slaves."—*Ibid.* p. 195-196.

WESTERN AFRICA.

The following official report of Commander Forbes, R.N., to Commodore Fanshawe, dated November 5, 1849, contains much valuable information. Incidental reference will be found to some of the statements which we lately published on the kingdom of Dahomey, but many new facts in relation to the slave-trade and the cultivation of native produce are brought out, to which we direct the careful attention of our readers. Commander Forbes thus reports:—

"I have the honour to lay before you the following report on the existing state of the slave and other trades in the kingdom of Dahomey.

"Gizo, the present king, some years ago, at the wish of his subjects, deposed his brother Adandooyah, the latter having fallen into the degrading habit of inebriation.

"Gizo no sooner became king than he made it his chief policy either

to employ his people in war, or amuse them with festivals. In order to ensure success in the former (and, as it will be seen, in both) he established large armies of male and female soldiers, and in the course of time conquered the kingdoms of Anagoo, Mahee, Bassa, and Kangaroo, thus rendering Dahomey a large monarchy. Instead of being tributary (as formerly) to the kingdom of Ashantee, he has placed that country nominally at his feet, sent his defiance, and built a palace under the name of Coomassee (that of the capital of Ashantee) to commemorate the declaration.

"Besides minor, there is one annual festival, known as the Customs, which takes place on the appearance of the third moon, March 13, 1850, and lasts six weeks. To this festival the whole of his subjects are invited, also all foreigners, traders, and others, sojourners in his kingdom, and all are assembled at the expense of the king. In order to defray this enormous expense, the king makes war on one or the other neighbouring countries, and performs what is termed a slave-hunt. These hunts the king always superintends, and in order to excite emulation, gives the female soldier a different portion to overrun from the male; in the performance of which duty the females almost always excel.

"The king having acquired a taste for European articles of merchandise, has a great desire to strengthen his alliance with foreigners. Having no doubt of their national protection, he holds the British and French people in great respect, while, on the contrary, although he admits that the Portuguese, *i.e.*, slave-merchants, readily purchase all his slaves, he treats them with much contempt, forcing them to pay many additional duties, &c.

"The kingdom of Dahomey, although of such vast inland extent, has but one seaport, Whydah, or more properly, *Grevigivi*, the Dahoman name, while the slave-merchants term it *Ajuda*. From the number of slave-merchants residing at Whydah, that port is strictly watched by the cruisers. Of these merchants, the late Da Souza, a Brazilian, was the chief, or charchar, friend and agent to the King. Although Da Souza was at one time said to possess 120,000,000 dollars, at his death he was almost a pauper, in consequence of having been over-liberal in his presents, and having met with some severe losses at sea. Besides the enormous expenses of his household, his wives alone amounted to 300. He lived in great magnificence. Every article of table or domestic use was of solid silver.

"Of the sons of Da Souza, there are three wealthy and slave-merchants; the eldest, Isidore, is a resident of Popoe, and will become charchar magistrate of slave-merchants, if Domingo Martins declines that office. The other two are Antonio Cockoo and Ignatio.

"Domingo José Martins, the richest merchant in the Bights (Brazilian), is a resident at Porto Novo, where he commands a monopoly of both slave and palm-oil trades, each of which he works to an enormous amount, and he is the only merchant in the Bights that ships a whole slave cargo; the others club their slaves, and ship in proportion to their means, all in one or more vessels. Martins has a large consignment of British cotton on palm-oil account at Porto Novo. He has an establishment also at Whydah.

"Joachim Almeida, the richest resident in Whydah, was originally from the Mahee country; sold into slavery, he has returned from Bahia, and is now a slave-merchant on an extensive scale.

"Jacinta, a native of Madeira, and José Joachim, fill up the number of Brazilian and Portuguese merchants; the latter was formerly a private soldier of the Brazils. There are also many petty dealers. The house of Joachim Antonio (D) is the only Spanish firm.

"By means of the lagoon the slaves can be shipped at either Porto Novo, &c., to the eastward, or Popoe, &c., to the westward, with much greater safety; but as these ports are the property each of a neighbouring chief, the king of Dahomey is jealous of his slaves being shipped without his kingdom, as thereby he loses the head-tax of twenty dollars—a heavy sum; and hence his repeated desire that the slave-trade might be put a stop to in the neighbouring States, and shipments allowed in Whydah.

"The price of a slave, from the trade being almost a royal monopoly (or at least a Martins one), is very high, being (in goods) from eighty to one hundred dollars. Hence with many captures there is great loss; the consequence is, that each slave-merchant counteracts the chances of the losses, in some degree, by embarking also in the palm-oil trade, and at this moment not one slave-merchant in Whydah but works both trades.

"The French house of Blancheley is working a large palm-oil trade. There are a few supercargoes of Hamburg vessels generally residing, who invariably purchase through Portuguese or Brazilian agency.

"The Americans have no trade at Whydah.

"Hutton and Co., the only British firm, as far as I can judge, are not purchasing. The resources of the country might be much extended; the soil is capable of producing all tropical plants, sugar, corn, fruits, &c., though the curse of the locusts is felt at times.

"The timber is magnificent at a little distance from Whydah. The animal kingdom is well furnished. The geologist and the botanist would find ample employment and be well repaid for developing the hidden treasures of the kingdom of Dahomey. The exports at once might be palm-oil, cocoa, and ground-nut oil, timber, Indian and Guinea corn,

cotton and yams (to the rivers); the jealousy of the present trade removed, there is no part of Africa where stock and even luxuries can be produced so abundantly and cheap. The manufactures are cloths of various kinds and pottery.

"At this moment the king is preparing for a slave-hunt, but *ad interim* he is performing the festival in memory of his mother, at which large numbers of his subjects and all his soldiers are assembled.

"The seat of war will be in the country of Anagoo, situated to the westward of Abomey, this country has already been subjugated by the Dahomans.

"The king thus states his reasons. That in the reign of his grandfather, the Anagoos invested Abomey, and so closely that the women could not leave the city for water (which is procured from a distance of six miles), without fear of being kidnapped. The consequence was, great suffering on the part of the Dahomans; neither his grandfather nor his father were fighting men, but quietly submitted to the ravages of the inroad. He had, however, conquered the Anagoos, but did not consider them as yet sufficiently punished; that he must have money (slaves for the ensuing Customs), and he thought, of all his hereditary enemies, the Anagoos most deserved the chastisement.

"The fact is, he has conquered almost all his neighbours, and is at a loss for some new field in which to perform his slave-hunt. Malefactors are mostly punished with death, but may be reprieved and sold into slavery. Domestic slaves are on no account allowed to be sold into foreign slavery. Should a merchant allow a slave to become a parent in Dahomey, he cannot sell either parent or child into foreign slavery. Slaves are never exposed in the market, but all sales are arranged privately in the houses of the dealers.

"The shipments of the last six months, independent of those captured, are as follows: from Porto Novo, three with 570 slaves; one with 200 slaves; one with 300; one with 70: all schooners, the two former built for the trade, the latter a French vessel, purchased. Report speaks of two other schooners, but I failed in getting particulars. From Whydah one with 200 slaves (a schooner fore and aft), built for the trade. From Popoe one with less than 100 slaves, a French schooner purchased. Report states that three others have lately shipped, but again no particulars. From River Volta, one with 200 slaves, a schooner built for the trade. From Lagos and Taboo I have no information, but in her Majesty's ship under my command chased unsuccessfully one schooner laden (reported).

"The slaves in hand at this moment are as follows: at Abomey the king has two cargoes, but I have failed in discovering of what amount; at Whydah, 50 slaves; Popoe, 800; Porto Novo, none; Lagos, unknown.

"At Whydah the jealousy of the trade revealed that the Spaniards have established themselves at Formosa, working the Nun and Brass Rivers, and that a felucca had escaped full. Such is the case, and the felucca escaped the *Waterwitch* and *Phoenix* about six weeks since.

"The merchants in the Volta and to the westward of Cape St. Paul are Spaniards."—*Ibid.* pp. 22-23.

EMIGRATION TO THE BRITISH EMANCIPATED COLONIES.

We extract from the Eleventh General Report of the colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners the following information in relation to emigration into the West India colonies and Mauritius up to the close of the year 1850.

MAURITIUS.

The progress of the Coolie emigration is regular, and its results most satisfactory. The conduct of the employers towards the immigrants is represented as being all that could be desired; and it would appear, from the report of Mr. Hugon, that during the recent disasters among the large mercantile houses connected with this colony, no part of the suffering seems to have fallen upon the labourer.

The Governor has been authorised to take measures for setting on foot emigration from Madras; and, if the state of the Mauritius finances would allow of it, to increase the number of Coolies introduced from 6,000 to 9,000. In order to facilitate the employment of a fresh class of vessels in the emigrant service, the Directors of the East India Company have also consented that the height between decks required in Coolie ships should be reduced from six feet to five feet six inches, provided that the same amount of cubic feet are still allotted to each emigrant. A small immigration from Madagascar has also been set on foot, of which your lordship has authorised the continuance.

The number of Coolies who returned to India during the years 1849 and 1850, were respectively 4,109 and 3,724. The numbers who arrived in the colony, in 1849, were 7,282, of whom 5,937 were males, 886 females, and 459 children; and, in 1850, 9,823, of whom 7,793 were males, 1,344 females, and 686 children.

We perceive that, during the year 1849, the cost to the colony of introducing each immigrant was about £4 a-head, while the rate of passage-money at Calcutta varied from 27 to 45 rupees.

WEST INDIES.

The amount of immigration into the West Indies during the last two years will be found in the annexed table. The principal immigration continues to be that of captured Africans, which is carried on at the expense of this country, from St. Helena, Sierra Leone, and Rio de Janeiro. The number of arrivals during 1849 and 1850, and their mode of distribution, is as follows:—

To Jamaica	1,548
„ British Guiana	2,456
„ Trinidad	2,643
„ St. Lucia	1,119
„ St. Vincent	800
„ Grenada	1,057
„ Antigua	195
„ St. Kitt's	232
	<hr/>
	10,059

Of which number, 1,321 are reported as from Madeira.

The amount of mortality after shipment has in some instances been great. In three cases, however, a large number of deaths occurred, resulting, as it would appear, from the state in which the emigrants were shipped. In one case they were infected with the small-pox, and, in the other, two had been landed from the captured slaver at St. Helena, in a state of even more than usual sickness and debility. The average mortality in the ships of Messrs. Hyde, Hodge, and Co., has been 3.85 per cent. Excluding these three voyages from the computation, it would be 1.31 per cent.

CHARACTER AND CONDITION OF THE LIBERATED AFRICANS.

Throughout the West Indies the Africans are employed under yearly contracts, the nature of which, it is said, they very readily understand. In one instance they are stated by the Governor of St. Vincent to have come to the stipendiary magistrate and emigration agent, stating that they had "counted the full moons" since their engagements, and finding that there had been twelve, they concluded that the period of contract had expired, and expressed a wish to change their service. In St. Lucia, some of them are described, at the expiration of their yearly contract, as standing out for a rise of two-pence a-day in their wages; and the stipendiary magistrate inferred from their mode of proceeding, and the frequent visits which the Africans on different estates had for some time previously paid each other, that this was done in pursuance of some understanding between the immigrants of the district about a standard rate of wages. In, general, however, though they are disinclined to any renewal of their contract, they appear sufficiently willing to remain on the estates on which they have been originally located. In point of character, it is said by Dr. Mitchell, the superintendent of immigrants at Trinidad, that there is considerable difference between the different tribes; some being easy, gentle, and somewhat idle, others of a more determined and less manageable character. The latter, the "Yaribahs," he describes as exhibiting a regard for truth, unusual among Africans. Some of the more savage class, who have run away from their masters, appear to have excited considerable dread in a part of Trinidad. In the Windward Islands, Sir W. Colebrooke represents the immigrants as belonging to the more peaceable tribes, against which, for obvious reasons, the slave-traders principally direct their warfare. Hence, he describes the captured Africans as generally docile and industrious when their confidence and attachment have been gained (a description which is fully borne out by the more detailed accounts of the stipendiary magistrates), and he adds, that "although the Creoles are kind to them, they generally prefer to associate with each other, or with native Africans who had formerly been settled in the colony, and they have manifested a desire to become Christians, thereby avoiding the reproach of heathenism which the Creoles sometimes apply to them."

THEIR TREATMENT.

They seem to have been, in general, treated with care and consideration by their employers. In one district of Jamaica, however, though the immigration agent speaks very well of their physical condition, yet discontent appears to have been excited among them, by the neglect of employers to pay them in money, according to the terms of their contract, and by two or three instances of personal violence on the part of overseers. We trust that the

interposition of Government (previous to which, two of the overseers had been dismissed by their employers), will prevent the recurrence of complaint on this ground.

About 302 Africans have availed themselves of the opportunity of returning to Africa from British Guiana, to Sierra Leone, by vessels employed in this service. It is expected that a considerable number will also return by one of these ships from Jamaica.

INDIAN EMIGRATION.

The emigration agent has resumed his duties at Calcutta, and has endeavoured to comply with his instructions to ship 5,000 Coolies for British Guiana, and 1,000 for Trinidad. Only three vessels, however, had been freighted, two of which had proceeded to Guiana, with 541 emigrants; and the other to Trinidad, with 178. For the present, emigration to British Guiana is in abeyance, pending the consideration of an objection entertained by the East India Company to one of the provisions of the immigration ordinance. The number of Coolies who have demanded back passages in Guiana has been 247; and in Trinidad, 180.

MADEIRA EMIGRATION.

In British Guiana, the bounty on Madeira immigrants has been lowered from thirty to twenty dollars. But in pursuance of the decided opinion of a medical board, the restriction which confined the immigration to certain months, supposed to be more healthy than the rest, has been removed. Some complaints have been put forward by the Portuguese authorities, respecting the supposed results of this emigration. The number of immigrants, which was in 1849 only eighty-six, rose in 1850 to 1,040.

EMIGRATION FROM THE KROO COAST.

Another attempt has been made to supply the West Indies with emigrants from the Kroo coast; we had really hoped that past experience had proved that there is no distant probability of obtaining a supply of free labourers from thence. We append a few extracts from the report of James M'Crea, Surgeon-Superintendent, dated October 18, 1850:—

"On the 20th September, 1850, the ship *Clarendon* left Sierra Leone, having on board 125 African emigrants, and Mr. Fisher, Emigration Agent, who had received orders to proceed in the vessel for the purpose of completing her complement of emigrants on the Kroo coast, and of reporting to the Commissioners of Land and Emigration on the possibility of obtaining a continual supply of emigrants from that coast. On the 26th September, we arrived off Cape Mesurado, on which is situated Monrovia, the capital of the republic of Liberia. Kroo-town stands near the beach; the huts are about 80 in number, and contain a population of between 200 and 300. I waited on the President, and explained to him our object in calling at the different villages on this coast, and the terms upon which the British Government proposes taking voluntary emigrants from thence to the West Indies. He expressed himself much pleased with the scheme. A copy of the notice on the subject of Kroo emigration, issued by order of the Governor of Sierra Leone on the 17th of August, was brought on shore, and every means employed to render the object of our visit as public as possible; notwithstanding which, only five emigrants were obtained, who were sent on board the ship.

"On the 28th, we landed at the river Sestos, for the purpose of collecting the chiefs of the country to hold a 'grand palaver,' without which, or at least the presents which accompany it, no sort of business can be transacted on the coast. The chiefs arrived, and the palaver, or discussion, was carried on through the head-man of our Sierra Leone emigrants, who acted as interpreter. Although we did everything in our power to convince the natives of this place that the present movement was greatly in their favour, we were so far unsuccessful that we only obtained three Kroomen, one of whom belonged to the river Sanquin.

"We sailed from the river Sestos on the 3rd of October, and, having called off Settra Kroo, where we were informed war was raging at the time, and no one could be permitted to leave, anchored off Nanna Kroo and King Will's Town on the 4th. Here Mr. Fisher landed, and succeeded in obtaining three men, two of whom we got in exchange for a native of this place, who came on board at Sierra Leone. Great numbers of Africans inhabit this part of the coast, living for the most part very wretchedly, notwithstanding which there exists among them the strongest disinclination to emigrate.

"On the 5th we left King Will's Town, and as we passed Niffon, some of the chiefs came off to the ship in canoes. Having had the

object of our visit explained to them, they told us it would be folly on our part to attempt anchoring, as they would not permit a single man to emigrate, giving the same reasons for their hostility to emigration which had been alleged in other places. Seeing that it would be useless to make any attempt on shore at Niffon, we proceeded to Grand Sesters, off which place we came to anchor during the night. On the morning of the 6th, Mr. Fisher and I went on shore, and were astonished at the multitude of natives who met us on the beach; there were fully 800, the majority of whom were between ten and eighteen years of age. And before we reached the part of the village set apart for holding the conference, we were surrounded by upwards of 2,000 natives of both sexes, the greater number in a state of complete nudity. Presents were distributed to the king and chiefs, and the 'palaver' commenced by our explaining as fully as possible the object of our mission. They demanded time for deliberation, and gave us no immediate answer. The native village of Grand Sesters contains fully 6,000 inhabitants, who do not attempt to deny that they are often in want of the necessaries of life. Yet such is their dread of allowing their children to go to the West Indies, that we only obtained eight emigrants here. Had no other ships ever before touched at this place for a similar purpose, or had the people formerly carried away been returned according to promise, I have no doubt we would have got 200 emigrants from Grand Sesters alone. And such is the result that must always accrue from breach of faith with the African race.

"We sailed from Grand Sesters on the 10th October, and came to anchor the same evening off Cape Palmas. On the following morning, Mr. Fisher and I went on shore, and waited on Governor Rushworm, who received us with great attention. We next proceeded to call the king and chiefs together, and found them as much prejudiced against West Indian emigration as any of the natives with whom we had as yet come in contact; but as they were a race surpassing any we had seen in intelligence and civilisation, an attempt was made on our part to explain away their objections, which, I am happy to say, was completely successful. Twenty-five men were then delivered to us as emigrants, with whom, and those already on board (making a total of 163 souls), we sailed for Demerara on the 14th October. On the same day Mr. Fisher left for Sierra Leone in a cutter which he engaged for the purpose."

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

We are indebted to the *Christian Times* for a lengthened report of the proceedings of this important body. We extract therefrom so much as refers immediately to the subject of slavery in the United States, and the barrier which exists, in consequence of that tremendous evil, to the furtherance of the objects proposed by the Alliance. Whilst lamenting that any obstacle should exist in the way of "unity," we cannot but rejoice that another proof has been added, by the failure of the United States branch of the Alliance, to those already possessed, that slavery is at war with every thing that is pure, holy, virtuous, and of good report.

STATE OF THE ALLIANCE IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

THIRD DAY, August 22nd.

The chair was taken by SIR CULLING EARDLEY.

The Rev. Dr. STEANE announced the proceedings of the day. He said the Rev. Dr. Baird, from New York, had to communicate the state and prospects of the Alliance in the United States of America. Since the introductory meeting, he had received a letter from the secretary of the United States Organisation in New York, introducing to the Conference the Rev. William Wilson, pastor of the Church of the Covenanters in Cincinnati, Ohio. The Rev. John Clarke, missionary at Brownstown, Jamaica, had also arrived, bringing with him the cordial commendations of the brethren of the Alliance in that island.

The CHAIRMAN now called upon the Rev. Dr. Baird to make his statement.

The Rev. Dr. BAIRD, of New York, said,—I know not that I ever undertook a sadder task than that of making the present report, for it must contain some things which will be heard with pain by all upon whose ears it will fall. It can affect none, however, more than it will him who presents it. Upon the return of the American brethren who took part in the annual meeting in London in 1846, no time was lost in calling the attention of the Christian public to the subject. Several large and interesting meetings were held in the city of New York, at which doctrinal articles and practical results were discussed, and statements read, by brethren who were present at the meeting in London. Many of the members put themselves to great inconvenience, by coming from

distant parts, at that inclement season of the year. During the anniversaries in New York, in the month of May, 1847, after much consideration and discussion, the articles of the General Alliance were accepted with entire unanimity, and such resolutions adopted as would, it was supposed, put the dreadful question, which was the cause of so much difficulty in London, in as acceptable a shape as was consistent with the maintenance of affinity with the General Alliance. Auxiliaries were speedily formed in several places, some of them of more than common interest. For several years meetings were held in New York in reference to this duty of Christian union, and there is abundant evidence that these meetings have done much good, even in America. It must be confessed, however, that though the movement has done much good in America—good enough, and far more than enough, to justify all the trouble and expense which it has occasioned—yet it has been, in a great degree, a failure. It has accomplished but little in comparison with what was fondly hoped when it was projected; and little in comparison with what it would have done if it had had a fair chance. They supposed that all who were making up the one true church of God might be received as members of this holy Alliance, with the confidence that if there were evils with which many of them were for a time entangled, and which might seem, or might be, under certain circumstances, inconsistent with true religion, they would be better dealt with, and better removed, by the proper ecclesiastical organisations, than by such an Alliance as was proposed. For this same reason they would have left all national and local evils to national and local agencies. Mr. Baird instanced the use of intoxicating beverages. They did not believe that the presence of unworthy members was going to prevent either the communion of saints or the communion of their Saviour, for in that case they could not be members of any church in this world. They were willing, if a second evidence may be stated, to propose an alliance with brethren of England, brethren of Germany, and brethren of other countries, who held with the greatest earnestness that alliance between the Church and the State is both scriptural and useful; although there is, probably, not one of those American brethren who does not believe in his inmost soul—and I certainly agree with them—that that same alliance of Church and State is the greatest evil that has ever befallen the church of Christ—that it has done more, a hundred-fold more, to corrupt sound doctrine, to blend the world and the church, to subvert the rights of conscience and of religious worship, and, in a word, to prevent men from entering into heaven, than all the slavery that has ever existed (!); and yet, with this belief, they were never guilty of the folly of refusing to meet and acknowledge Christian brethren who approve and uphold this pernicious alliance, and share in its emoluments. The American brethren soon began to see their fears realised. A resolution, adopted at Manchester, gave them notice of the coming difficulty. Still they came to London, to the great meeting in 1846, hoping for the best. At the very threshold they were met with a resolution, by way of test, which was felt to be not very courteous, as determining the terms of an Alliance which was expected to be, not for Britain only, but for the world. But even this was got over, and the American brethren entered the Alliance. The long and painful discussions which followed are well known. The American brethren returned home with a heavy heart. That happened which they had feared and anticipated. It was impossible to make the object successful among us. Very few even of those who had been decidedly favourable to it before, would take any part in it now. The reason was felt to be unjust, and was unjust, inasmuch as it was certain to operate cruelly upon many persons in the slave-trading States, who most need, as they most deserve, the succour which Christian sympathy can give. There are forms of this great evil which no men who have the light that we have, or think we have, can pronounce to be utterly inconsistent with true religion, or with any religion which requires justice to our fellow-men; as, for instance, where the thing is voluntary. There are many cases, on the other hand, where the case is far otherwise, from the State laws, from the position of the master, or from the age and condition of the slave. This was felt, because understood, by many of the best men in America; and they stood aloof from our Alliance. Besides, the whole affair had an unfavourable aspect. There was an appearance of foreign dictation—I say an appearance, for I know the intention will be disclaimed. And it came from the last quarter from which it should have come; it came from England, by which everything of that kind should be avoided. The wounds which two severe and almost fratricidal wars had occasioned had not been long enough healed to admit of anything but gentle treatment. The result was, as has been stated, a deplorable failure. I say deplorable, not because we have need, in America, of such an Alliance for ourselves, or for the benefit of our churches. There is no country in Christendom where there is so little need of it. There are several evangelical churches dwelling together in harmony, for which we cannot be too grateful. All placed on the same footing by the laws, all protected by the laws, there can be no invidious distinction between them. No State Establishment overshadows and oppresses the others, for no sect has the prestige or influence of the powers that be to sustain it. We are all equal in this respect, and know nothing of the oppressions, the jealousies, and the

heart-burnings, which are found prevailing in other countries. *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*; and to Him be the praise. But we deplore this. We deplore it because we see days of evil, nor are they very far distant. It cannot be disguised that the very attempt which we have made to bring the churches of America and Europe, and especially of Great Britain, into more friendly and fraternal relations, has ended in putting them further asunder. You have been told that it would hasten the overthrow of the dreadful evil among us, if you put us out of the pale of your Christian fellowship. You have been told what amounts to this; and you have believed those who told you so, notwithstanding the remonstrances—and tears, even—of brethren who are worthy of your confidence, from their character, their antecedents, and their position. You have preferred to believe another class of witnesses. As to the question, who they are, and what they are, I say nothing. You have believed them, but you have been deceived. You might have known us by knowing yourselves—I speak to British Christians—and this knowledge would certainly have taught you that very much that has been done, and still more that has been said, is anything else than likely to accomplish that great object. Oh, no; the language of taunt, and of ridicule, and of indiscriminate abuse, may wound the hearts of Christian men among us who love their country, notwithstanding all its faults, but it is hurled back with unmeasured scorn by more than three thousand prelates. “Let America wash out of her skirts the stain of slavery, and then she will be fit to join British Christians.” Such was the language of one in this country whom we loved. How was that received in America—I don’t say by Christian men, but by others? Shall I tell you how it was received? Will you bear with me while I do so? “This sounds”—mark the words—“this sounds like the language of one who washes and bedecks his person, eats and drinks, and wipes his mouth, and says, ‘I am not corrupt.’” We know that Britain has many stains in her robe still to wash out, as it would be easy to show; but I would not fall into the mistake which I am condemning, and therefore it was that I hesitated to quote to you even a single specimen of that language which has been used in America in reply to that used here. It must be remembered, that in America, as in this country, the men of this world constitute the vast majority. We will abolish this great evil, that you may depend upon; but we must be allowed to take such time and measures as we think best. We believe that we understand this matter better than you do; I speak it with all deference. We shall get rid of slavery, but not at, or in consequence of, your bidding, or to please you, but because it is our duty to do so. You can help us with your prayers, and by looking well to your experiment in the West Indies, and seeing that it works well; I know not what else can be done. You have placed the coat of Nessus on the young limbs of our nation, but you can give us little help in throwing it off. It was not Republicanism nor the Voluntary principle that imposed that greatest of evils upon us. Monarchy, monarchy did it. Monarchy introduced and imposed it, nursed it for 155 years; and if the church did not do her duty—though she did much more than you are aware of, at the time when the evil was young and small, and comparatively feeble—it was when ten out of thirteen colonies were enjoying the blessings, as some call them, of an Established church. Do not, I beseech you, send us such missionaries as one who lately visited us; one who deceives himself, or rather tries to deceive his countrymen, by telling them that his speeches, made in this country since his return, will make a sensation in America from Maine to California. Yes, a sensation they will make, but it will be one of laughter and of contempt. If you have another Mr. Gurney to send, he will be heard everywhere with pleasure; he was heard everywhere, east and west, north and south—he was heard everywhere, when he “reasoned of temperance, righteousness, and judgment to come,” and when he addressed those admirable letters to Henry Clay. He was heard everywhere; for, while he was not wanting in faithfulness, he was a Christian and a gentleman. O, brethren, the course taken in this country for years past is working out its legitimate result—not that of hastening the overthrow of this great evil in America, but that of severing the bonds which hold two great nations together! What do we see already? A few Americans at this meeting, most of them as spectators of your proceedings, and not as members of the Alliance. “Why is this?” said a brother of this city now before me, well known and greatly beloved in America, “how is it that when so many American ministers are now in England, so few are here, or have even called upon us?” That is a serious inquiry, and I would prefer to leave it unanswered, but I cannot. The reason of it is to be found simply in this fact—they do not go to your meetings because, as one of them said to me, they are tired of hearing, wherever they go, insults offered to their country, remarks and taunts thrown out against it; the presence of an American gentleman being often sufficient to induce a clap-trap speaker in Exeter Hall to say something against America, to catch the applause of the audience. The gentleman to whom I have referred said he did not want to hear such things any more, and therefore he should not go to any meetings. My friends, this is the exact state of the case. There are a great many American ministers in Europe, but very few are here—very few care about being acquainted with their brethren in Europe. I am sorry to say it. They feel that a slight is put upon

them. If public meetings are held, they are not invited to speak. If this were owing to their incompetency, they would submit with becoming humility; but when they know that it arises from other motives, and that if they attend public meetings they will hear something against their country to which they cannot reply, they stay away. They go to the Grand Exhibition, and travel about your country, but they do not attend your meetings. It is impossible that this state of things should fail to do much mischief. We can do as well without you as you can do without us.

The CHAIRMAN: No! but neither can do without the other. He would like to hear from Dr. Baird whether his address was to be considered as a report from the Alliance, or a personal communication?

The Rev. Dr. BAIRD said he had no hesitation in saying, that the Alliance must receive his communication as a personal matter. He had felt it his duty to make it, but it was his own personal statement.

The Rev. Mr. ARTHUR wished to know whether, with the exception of the speech that they had just heard, they were not to expect any statement from the American Alliance?

The Rev. Dr. BAIRD replied, that he was charged by the committee to appear there, but as to the form of the report, the phraseology was not theirs, but his.

The Hon. and Rev. B. W. NOEL thought that before the Alliance came to any decision on so important a matter, they must have before them the actual facts of the case. There was one expression, and only one, in the very manly and Christian address they had heard, to which he should personally take exception. His reverend brother had spoken of them as having put the American churches without the pale. His impression was that they had not subjected themselves to that charge. They might, perhaps, have been guilty of some ill-temper, but they had not gone so far as to put the American churches out of the pale at all. He thought their brother would see reason to modify that statement.

The Rev. Dr. BAIRD said, his remark had reference, not to what was done in the Alliance, but to what was done out of it, and generally.

The Hon. and Rev. B. W. NOEL: Then we are not responsible for it. As it would be a dereliction of duty for the Conference not to take some notice of this important question, he would suggest the appointment of a sub-committee, which might prepare the way for useful discussion.

In reply to a question from the Rev. J. A. JAMES, it was announced officially that the Rev. Drs. Robinson, Alexander, Bacon, and other American ministers, were present in the Conference.

The Rev. J. A. JAMES said, he could but express his unfeigned admiration of the temper of mind in which Dr. Baird's communication had been laid before them; more tenderness of spirit, and yet more manliness of mind and sentiment, he had scarcely ever witnessed. He must, on the part of the Alliance, disclaim any participation in the mission of a certain gentleman who had visited America; they had nothing to do, either with that gentleman, or with his mission. He would suggest a friendly conference between some members delegated from that assembly, and their American brethren, to talk over the subject in the spirit of brethren and Christians. Possibly there was required a little more forbearance than had hitherto been exercised. He had himself sometimes used strong expressions; and he had afterwards felt a little smiting of conscience, not on account of the sentiment, but for the manner in which his convictions had found utterance.

The Rev. Mr. WILSON, of Cincinnati, United States, said: The character of Dr. Baird is such, that great respect is due to anything which falls from him; but it must still be recollected that men's views are often influenced by their ecclesiastical relationships. Dr. Baird belongs to a very respectable denomination, which is not entirely free from slaveholding—the Old School—while I myself belong to a branch of the Presbyterian church which, fifty years ago, unanimously abolished slavery, and ever since has made it a term of communion, that “no man holding unoffending men in involuntary bondage (I quote the terms of the article) shall be entitled to the privileges of the church of Christ.” This difference may give a complexion to our views respectively in relation to many things which exist around us. Though I admit that the slavery question is the great reason why so little progress has been made by the Alliance, I must say, that another reason is, the want of Christian love—rampant sectarianism, which represents division as a positive advantage, and which, if carried out, would create as many churches as there are individual wills or selfish objects. For this evil I should have thought the Evangelical Alliance, or some such oecumenical movement, would be a great curative and corrective. I am warmly attached to this movement; but I must say there has been a general feeling in America, that it would have been better to leave all disciplinary matters to the respective churches. At the same time, I must say, that it is very important that the brand has been fixed on slavery in general. As to the matter of slavery in our country, I think it will soon cease to be. I should not wonder if you have given it a very considerable mortal blow by your resolution. It is hard for men professing themselves to be in Christ and in His church, to outface and withstand that great mortal shock. There has recently been in our country what has been called the free-soil discussion; and the meaning of it is, that as we have acquired

large new territories on our Southern border, and on the coast of the Pacific—which Southern men intended to have as a field for the propagation of slavery under the American flag—that to these new territories slavery shall never be extended, but that by American law it shall never have another inch of ground. There has been a moral outbreak; Christians have been found on this, that, and the other side; but after all, the thing is done, the die is cast, and I have no hesitation in saying, that another slave State shall never be added to the American Republic; and the moment you circumscribe and localise slavery, that moment you cicatrise it—it will come off as a great political scab, and we shall be free indeed, and that greatest cause of political contention and scandal to the church of Christ shall be numbered amongst the things of the past. In the meantime, not intending to contradict my very reverend and respected brother, Dr. Baird, and knowing how zealous he is in the cause of Christian union and the Evangelical Alliance, I state this, that the matter may be more fully understood; and I would propose, if there had not already been a proposition made to the same effect, that you should institute some movement for another meeting, and then make any modification on this point which increased light would warrant you in doing.

After a little conversation on the subject, in which some of the brethren advised its being quashed, and called attention to the protracted discussion which it occasioned in 1846, it was moved by the Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel, and seconded by the Rev. Dr. King:—

“That the American brethren present in the Conference be requested to meet the Council, for mutual communication on the state of the Evangelical Alliance in the United States, and the causes which have impeded its progress in that country; and that the Council be specially convened for this purpose, and make a special report upon it.”

Dr. KING said, that when he was in the United States lately, the American brethren listened in the best possible spirit to an entire statement of his views on the painful subject under discussion. He anticipated that the deliberations of the Council would be productive of very great benefit.

The Rev. WILLIAM ARTHUR thought that, while endeavouring to avoid exasperating the national feelings of the Americans, we should not abate our scriptural testimony against the evil of slavery itself.

August 29th.

Dr. STEANE said:—I am charged to lay before the Conference the report of the Council formed to confer with our American brethren, on the causes which have impeded the progress of the Alliance in America. Dr. King and Mr. James have been requested to move and second the reception of the report.

The Rev. JOHN HOWARD HINTON inquired, if the report were received, would the discussion come on in its appointed place?

Dr. STEANE replied in the affirmative.

Dr. HAMILTON proposed that the Conference should proceed to the discussion on Popery.

The CHAIRMAN (now Mr. Sheriff Robertson) thought it would be considerably relieving to the minds of many of the Conference if the report were at once read, and laid upon the table without any remarks. Was it the pleasure of the Conference to hear the report?

VOICES—“Read, read.”

Dr. STEANE then read the following report:—“The Council report, that they have had much friendly conference with the American brethren, in which frank and courteous explanations have been mutually given, which have shown how important it is for Christians residing on opposite shores of the Atlantic to have a clear understanding of each other's position, and to assist each other in discouraging national jealousies, and in promoting the interests of humanity and religion; that the American brethren have made no request that the British Organisation should not still adhere to its constitution as originally settled; and that the Council are also satisfied that no alteration should be made in it. At the same time, the Council recommend that in the intercourse between the Christians of the two countries all uncharitable actions and expressions be avoided; and they desire to encourage their brethren from the United States to renew their efforts to revive the organisation of the Evangelical Alliance existing there, in accordance with the resolution of the Conference of 1846, in the confidence that, by the Divine blessing, the difficulties which have hitherto obstructed their progress will, in answer to prayer, and under the influence of their united wisdom and charity, gradually give way, until they are altogether removed.”

Dr. STEANE having repeated that the reception of the report was to be moved and seconded,

Mr. HINTON begged to say that before the report was read, the chairman had distinctly stated that there should be no discussion upon it.

Dr. KING said that the Council did not contemplate any discussion upon the report.

The Rev. J. A. JAMES (Birmingham) supposed that the report must be concurred in by all present—he could not anticipate that there could be any division upon it.

The Rev. Mr. WALKER of Aberdeen, said that himself and friends near him were not satisfied with that report, and could not allow it to be passed over in that way.

The CHAIRMAN was satisfied that the matter of the American Conference was a subject too interesting—and the American question was one which had taken too deep a root in the minds of the members of the Alliance—for them to be satisfied for the meetings now holding to pass over without a discussion on America.

A suggestion was made, that the report having been read, it should be laid upon the table, and the Conference proceed at once to the order of the day.

The suggestion met with the general approval of the Conference.

We heartily commend the following strictures on the speech of Dr. Baird, a full report of which will be found in our foregoing columns, to the attention of our readers. They are from the pen of Dr. Campbell, himself a member of the Evangelical Alliance, and appear in the *British Banner* of the 27th ult. :—

The great event of the third day was the address of Dr. Baird, of the United States, who confessed, that in his country the Alliance had been, in a great degree, a failure, having done very little compared with what was expected. Dr. Baird advanced very warily, we had almost said craftily, as a man that felt he was about to tread upon delicate ground. He enumerated hopes which had been entertained and which were disappointed. For these hopes, however, those who entertained them, we presume, have themselves to blame. For our own parts, from the outset, we adopted the beatitude of Swift, "Blessed is the man who expecteth nothing, for he shall not be disappointed." We expected little, hence we were not disappointed; but within the last year or two, the smoke and the dust having passed away, we now see ourselves in a fair way to realise something considerable. Our process, therefore, has been the reverse of Jonathan's, and so have been the issues. Dr. Baird complained, that they had not "originated a statement of doctrine, in which all Christians could unite;" that is to say, because they had not performed an impossibility. As it turned out in the subsequent part of his address, the Doctor's regrets were, that they had not originated a statement of doctrine which would have comprised slaveholders. Dr. Baird having paved the way, at last fully exhibited his views, declaring that the American slaveholding brethren held,—and he held with them,—that the alliance of Church and State, which the organised platform does not exclude, had "done more, a hundred-fold more, to corrupt sound doctrine, to blend the world and the church, to subvert the rights of conscience and of religious worship, and, in a word, to prevent men from entering into heaven, than all the slavery that has ever existed; and yet, with this belief, they were never guilty of the folly of refusing to meet and acknowledge Christian brethren, who approved and upheld this pernicious alliance and share in its emoluments."

We go all lengths with the Doctor against the union of Church and State, but we must be suffered to dispute the fairness of the comparison. As a stroke in rhetoric, it was admirable, and would doubtless have been cheered to the echo by an assembly of Virginians; but the logic was bad. What! is there to be no distinction between the position of a Bickersteth and a Breckenridge—an error and a crime? Is there no difference between taking tithe and killing men? Is there no difference between an English rector, through the beadle, the broker, and the police constable, distraining for Church-rates, and an American slaver prowling on the coast of Africa, waiting to do business with the murderer and the man-stealer, the trafficker in flesh and blood—flesh and blood which he buys that he may sell again, and raise a revenue by the destruction of creatures reared in the image of God? What! is there no difference between placing fenders and fire-irons, music-stools and silver spoons, in the hands of the auctioneer for sale to satisfy Church demands, and placing husbands and wives, fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, upon the auction-block, to sell them, as beasts of burden, to the highest bidder? Is there no difference? Will Dr. Baird cross the Atlantic and present himself in an Assembly, three-fourths composed of Englishmen, and talk after this fashion? This he has done, and the deed we hold to have been an experiment upon British patience and Christian forbearance.

Dr. Baird went on to tell the Assembly, that the American "brethren had fears which they soon began to see realised." They well might. Guilt and fear go together. "Conscience makes cowards of us all." Men making merchandise of their fellow-creatures might well entertain doubts whether they would be welcome to the fire-sides of Englishmen! The Doctor went on to narrate the proceedings of the Alliance, commencing at Manchester, by which the door was all but shut against them. He complained, that what followed was painful to their feelings—that there was a kind of dictation which came from the last quarter from which it should have come. How is this? We should have said the first quarter. Was it not for the nation which had clean hands, and had paid twenty millions sterling for the washing of them, to cast the first stone? Nor do we see how it could be dictation for them to state the terms on which they would hold intercourse with fellow-Christians, and to declare, that men with chains in their pockets, and whips in their hands, and the price of blood about them, could not enter into their fellowship! It will be seen that Dr. Baird talked in very towering terms when he reached this part of his subject; he declared the result had been a "deplorable

failure—a failure he deplored, not for the sake of America"—oh, no!—but for the sake of England! No country in the world so little required the Alliance as did the American churches. * * * *

We could have borne all this with tolerable patience; but when Dr. Baird begins to school us Englishmen, we have a right to inquire into the grounds of his pretensions. He clearly seems—and the slaveholding portion of his countrymen whom he represents—to writhe under the implied reprehension of the Alliance; he obviously lays it much to heart, and bitterly resents it, that the refusal of Christian fellowship should be represented as the sure way to extinguish the dreadful evil of slavery among them. To accomplish this is but a part of the object of such refusal, not the whole. The first point is, not their correction, but the maintenance of a good conscience in our own bosoms; while it is believed, that in maintaining that conscience, we shall be bringing a moral power to bear upon our American brethren, of which they stand much in need, and helping the better portion of them to battle it out with the worse, and ultimately yield efficient aid in emancipating the entire country from its two-fold thralldom; for we contend, that both the blacks and whites, each class in its own way, are enslaved.

But when Dr. Baird tells Englishmen that they have "preferred to believe another class of witnesses," we must ask him what he means? Things have long since reached that pass, we beg to assure him, which renders Englishmen perfectly independent both of his testimony and that of the other class to which he refers. The subject has acquired an elementary character among us; our very children comprehend it. It is superfluous and preposterous for American brethren any longer to talk mysteriously of "difficulties," and "insuperable obstacles," and so forth, which "Englishmen cannot comprehend." They understand all about it as clearly as Dr. Baird, or as Mr. Clay, or even Daniel Webster himself. Dr. Baird told the Assembly that they had "believed other witnesses, and had been deceived by them." In thus talking, our reverend and respected visitor certainly paid his hearers but a poor compliment. There is no deception in the matter, or, if there has been deception, it has been on the other side of the Atlantic, and the subjects of which have been men who believed they could traffic in the souls and bodies of their fellow-creatures, and yet be received to the hearts and homes of Englishmen! But they find that they have been deceived. Dr. Baird, waxing exceedingly warm, exclaims "The language of taunt, and of ridicule, and of indiscriminate abuse, may wound the hearts of Christian men among us, who love their country, notwithstanding all its faults; but it is hurled back with unmeasured scorn by more than three thousand presses!" Softly! is this the tone that befits the Assembly of the Evangelical Alliance? It would seem our Brother Jonathan has a large supply of "scorn" for exportation, as well as of cotton, and that his "three thousand presses" are but too subservient to his blood-stained purposes! We hope Dr. Baird may have made a slip. The press has ever been deemed, generally and justly, the great ally of freedom. * * * * There must, we presume, be some mistake. Three hundred would have been too many; one thousand a dreadful amount; but three thousand must surely be a stretch of the long bow, or a rhetorical exaggeration. Dr. Baird cites the language of certain objurgators in England, who call upon "America to wash out of her skirts the stain of slavery, and thus become fitted to join British Christians." We see nothing in this simple declaration to excite a blush on the part of England, or that ought to exasperate America. It appears to us but a simple, candid, and appropriate exhortation.

This explosion of pride and scorn having passed, Dr. Baird proceeded to tell the Assembly that the language of America was, that "she would abolish this great evil—that they might depend on—but she must be allowed such time and measures as she thinks best." Very well; but we claim, as neighbours and Christian brethren, to give a little of our mind respecting both the time and the measures. When we find men, who, but a few years back, denounced slavery, now defending it—men who then brought Scripture to oppose, now bringing Scripture to uphold it, deliberately declaring, that, "if by one prayer they could liberate every slave on the globe, that prayer they would not offer"—when we find men, we say, talking after this fashion, it shakes our confidence, and excites our fears for their sincerity, and holds forth but small hope to the three or four millions of fettered men in America, that they will ever taste the cup of freedom, and to the Christians of England, that they will ever see the blood on the skirts of the Great Republic washed out! Dr. Baird may sneer, and taunt, and threaten, as a sense of duty may prompt him, but he may rest assured that the mind of England is made up, and that, in speaking as she has recently spoken, her language has been well weighed, and in perfect harmony with the laws of eternal truth. Dr. Baird, we think, knows it; and they, too, whose unrighteous cause he seeks to bolster up, know it! They feel themselves, in their own conscience, degraded, and that their position exposes them to the mingled pity and contempt of the whole civilised world!

Dr. Baird would grant a slight indulgence to the philanthropy of England. If she would silence her orators and fetter her press, he would allow her to "pray for them!" Well, prayer by all means; but, if we are to pray, we demand the right to preach also. England will pray; but,

while she prays, her orators will declaim and denounce, her writers will write and remonstrate, and her presses will groan with sorrowful pleadings on behalf of a nation in chains!

But the Doctor tells us to look well to our own experiment in the West Indies. Here, again, there is rhetorical dexterity in violation of candour. What of our "experiment?" What if ruin, in some places, has overtaken the planter? What is this but the providence of God, carrying its retributions to their final accomplishment? The disasters which have overtaken the West Indies have been the result, partly of previous rottenness, partly of the incapacity of the planters for their position, partly of non-residence and the management of estates by attorneys, and partly of the adoption of free-trade principles. With these matters, justice has nothing to do. When eight hundred thousand men, at a cost of twenty millions sterling, were emancipated, an act of justice was done—an act which England was bound to do, regardless of the possible temporary consequences—yes, even if it should have issued in the utter ruin of the islands—in clearing them of the last house and the last hovel, and leaving them to the bittern and the owl, the wolf and the jackal! Have not the lips of Dr. Baird himself often exclaimed, "Let justice be done, if the heavens should fall?"

Dr. Baird went on to bemoan the recent anti-slavery agitation of England, on account of the separation it was working between England and America. He told the Assembly, that there were a great many American ministers in Europe, but very few there. We can believe this. It was not likely that those who came to Europe for different purposes would spend their days and nights in Freemasons' Hall; but it remains to be proved, that they were kept away by the recent anti-slavery demonstrations of Great Britain. He deplored the treatment they received in this country. If they went to public meetings they were not invited to speak; and, if they attended notwithstanding, they had their feelings wounded while they could not reply. They would go to the Exhibition, and travel about the country, but they did not attend the Alliance meetings; and from this he conceived there must follow much mischief.

This address, notwithstanding the fire, bitterness, and scorn with which it was so amply charged, was uttered with a calmness rarely equalled. While pouring forth this torrent of reproach and menace, he resembled a marble statue. The soul and the body appeared to have no sympathy; no external manifestation whatever was given of the workings of the spirit within. It was a perfect masterpiece of self-control and deceptive plausibility. While thus venting paragraph after paragraph, interspersed with fire and brimstone, which might have sufficed to kindle a conflagration, he leaned upon the table with all the placidity of an old Cameronian minister giving thanks over a family meal.

SLAVEHOLDING IN THE AMERICAN CHURCHES.

By calculation based upon the United States census and statistics of religious bodies, it is estimated that Methodists in the United States own 219,563 slaves; Presbyterians (Old and New School), 77,000; Baptists, 115,000; Campbellites, 101,000; Episcopalians, 88,000; other Protestants, 50,000—making a sum total of 650,663 slaves owned by ministers and members of Protestant churches in the United States. At 400 dollars (a low estimate) for each slave, this makes a property fund vested in human bodies and souls of 570,225,200 dollars, owned by the American Protestant churches. The influence of this fund must be met, resisted, and overcome, by the influence which shall remove slavery from the churches.—*President Blanchard of Knox College, Illinois.*

As the whole number of slaves held in the United States amounts, in round numbers, to three millions, of which the above list includes between a fourth and a fifth, we may reasonably inquire, by what class of people are the rest possessed? Do the holders of four-fifths of the slaves in this model republic make no profession to religion? or to what denomination of professors do they belong? But, without attempting to answer these questions, we may correctly consider the fact, supposing it to be a fact, that 650,000 slaves are held in the United States by ministers and members of the Protestant churches, as one that must exercise a powerful influence in maintaining the system. If ministers and members of Protestant churches can retain their fellow-men of the African race in slavery, without incurring the censure of the religious community to which they belong, we can scarcely regard this procedure as anything less than a practical declaration, that slavery is not inconsistent with the principles of the Gospel. And if Christian professors can reconcile their consciences to the practice, we may readily conceive, that such as make their religion a secondary and subordinate consideration, will not feel themselves called to a purer morality than their religiously professing acquaintances.

It may, indeed, be safely asserted, that the standard of morals, in any community, depends chiefly upon the example and opinions of the religious classes. If those who profess to be guided by the precepts and principles of the Christian religion, could be induced to withdraw their countenance and support from the system of slavery, there can be no doubt that their example would have a powerful effect in the promotion of general emancipation. A practice which was discarded by all the pro-

fessors of religion, would necessarily be considered as immoral and disreputable, and would be avoided, from a regard to reputation.

The generation of Friends who first declared the holding of slaves a disownable offence, has passed away. If a similar course had been simultaneously adopted by the other Christian societies in the United States, it is scarcely conceivable that the present race would have known anything of those angry discussions, which we are sometimes told are shaking the Union to its centre, and endangering its permanence. Without the countenance of the religious world, slavery must, in all probability, have long since slunk into dens and caverns, to hide itself from the contempt and detestation of the free and enlightened inhabitants of this western paradise. We had the honour of first extinguishing slavery within our own limits; and when we can unite in withdrawing our aid from the market, on which the whole fabric stands, then our testimony against slavery will be consistently maintained.

At the "Christian Anti-Slavery Convention," held at Chicago, in July last, the following resolution, with others, was adopted:—"This Convention recommends to anti-slavery Christians, when practicable, to give preference, in their purchases, to the productions of free labour, and to abstain, as much as possible, from the use of those articles which are produced by unpaid toil."—*Philadelphia Friends' Review.*

AMERICAN SLAVERY AND ITS ISSUES.

(From the New York Tribune.)

We believe in America and her destiny with all the confidence of a mind whose every conviction is utterly democratic. In the great drama of human development we regard this Western Republic, with its youthful energies, its rejection of office institutions and conventionalities, its omnipotent, creative radicalism, its fusion of races, and its growing power, as already performing a part of unspeakable importance, and as advancing toward a future of still greater magnitude and influence.

But that future is clouded by a single danger, whose proportions rise ever more vague and gloomy upon the view. That danger is African slavery. All the other difficulties that men seem to see before the Republic we think little of. The danger from too rapid an expansion of democratic tendencies we laugh at; the danger from the spirit of corruption among public men and legislative bodies can and will be remedied; but slavery sets remedies at defiance, and madly seeks to perpetuate itself like a pestilential corpse, clinging for ever upon the living body of American democracy.

Slavery can now have no other apology than the fact that it exists. Whatever its origin, whatever its usefulness, in the lower stages of society, all men not blinded by interest, passion, and prejudice, must admit that, in this country, it now produces nothing but evil. We have conversed with many intelligent slave proprietors, who frankly confessed that this was their opinion, and that they would rejoice at nothing more than its entire removal. Simple common sense would expect to find the same desire universal and predominant among all whom misfortune had made slaveholders.

But such is by no means the view of the slaveholding States generally. They cleave to slavery as they would to life. Kentucky flouts the venerable and affectionate wisdom of Henry Clay, warning her of the danger, and refuses to entertain any project of emancipation; Virginia, amid the melancholy decay that slavery has brought upon her, resists the approach of freedom as though it were the plague, and struggles to surround her slave aristocracy with new and more stable guarantees; the President of the South Carolina Convention declares that his State must go out of the Union, or else slavery cannot last twenty years; he would have it last for ever. And though we have not yet recovered from the calamities of a war made for the extension of slavery, nor from a domestic agitation growing out of the same cause, the South swarms with men eager to fight and conquer Cuba, while others would fain set on foot a crusade to reduce the Haytiens once more into bondage, and thus add to our Confederation two new tropical States, with a million and a half of slaves.

Can any folly surpass this insane desire to enlarge and perpetuate an institution which, by universal confession and the testimony of all reasonable men, is so pernicious?

But there are men in the Southern States who are willing to look at facts as they are. To them we address ourselves.

Slavery cannot be perpetuated beyond a certain period; this is taught by all history, and demonstrated by the very nature of things. It may be terminated in one of two ways: either through emancipation by the masters, or through revolt on the part of the slaves. In one of these modes it must in due time come to an end; if peaceful emancipation is not chosen, bloody revolt is sure at last to do its work.

Look at the tendencies of things in this country. In all the middle States, the free population is gradually but surely increasing on the slave. In Delaware the process is already so far advanced that the institution barely exists, and cannot remain much longer. In Maryland there are now fewer slaves than ten years ago, though the population has increased above an eighth, and the slave less than a sixteenth, and the case is

similar with Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee. By this natural growth of population all the middle States will at no distant day be free, while the slaves will be crowded into the cotton, sugar, and rice growing territory farther South. According to this present ratio of increase, it has been estimated that in fifty years the extreme Southern States will contain a vast population of slaves, far exceeding the whites who own them.

Now, does any man suppose that these dozen millions or so of slaves can be kept in subjection under such circumstances? It is folly to think it. They will then have gained a vast addition to their present average of intelligence; the dangerous admixture of white blood will be infused among them in a greater proportion; and not all the troops that can be raised and brought to the field will be sufficient to subdue them. On this head, read the lesson of St. Domingo. When the blacks there rose upon their masters, the proportion between the two was as 500,000 to 50,000. The whites were driven from the country with horrible cruelties, the natural revenge of a servile and oppressed race. Powerful armies were sent against these revolted slaves, millions were spent for their subjugation, but in vain. A negro State now occupies the loveliest and most fertile of the Antilles, and, by a natural sentiment of jealousy, no white is permitted to become a citizen of the country.

A similar fate awaits the Southern extremity of the United States, unless the whites are wise betimes. There is no alternation between emancipation under some form and a servile result. Sooner or later it must come, and let those supporters of slavery who are most competent, judge whether half a century is too soon for its arrival.

Free the blacks, or in time they will terribly free themselves. Men cannot be made chattels for ever—it is unsafe to suppose it. The negroes of South Carolina and Mississippi may be docile and submissive now, but they will not be so always. This is a fatal delusion which cannot be too soon abandoned.

The part of wisdom is to labour, not for the perpetuation of slavery, but for its removal. Its perpetuation is impossible; its removal can best be accomplished while the danger is still remote. We shall perhaps be told that, but for the abolitionists, slavery would now be much nearer its end than it is. That may be a convenient reply to the facts above stated, but it does not affect their force to an atom. We shall be reminded of the difficulties surrounding the question of emancipation. No doubt those difficulties are great enough, but they sink into insignificance, they are nothing, compared with those connected with maintaining this institution.

Would to God our brethren in the South might open their ears to considerations so momentous, that this cloud might be dispelled from the future of America! Nor do we despair of such a miracle. Unpromising as are all the signs of public feeling in the slave States, we cannot suppose that this nation, the anointed missionary of democratic liberty, can so signally, so disgracefully perish, as it must, in the attempt to perpetuate the inhumanities and evils of bondage. Let us rather prophecy that, without insurance or convulsion, the sun which first rises upon the twentieth century will not behold a slave on the whole expanse of the American continent.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

* * * We received this letter just as we were going to press, but have gladly made room for its interesting contents, which we commend to our readers:—

New York, August 18, 1851.

To the Editor of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.

The firm and decided action taken by so many ecclesiastical bodies in England in relation to American slaveholders, pro-slavery ministers, &c. has given great satisfaction to the abolitionists of this country. It is bearing a faithful testimony on behalf of the righteous cause in which we are labouring, and affording essential aid. We lament to see that, notwithstanding your precautions and faithfulness, some of our preachers and laymen evade your scrutiny, and appear on your platforms as *pro tem.* abolitionists. No American minister, probably, would hesitate to say in England that he was anti-slavery in his principles, and most of them would there speak and pray for the downfall of the unrighteous system. It is easy to do so there. But a large portion of such men act here as if they were indifferent or hostile to the cause of freedom. They do nothing for the abolition of caste or the downfall of slavery—but much the other way. Their ecclesiastical connexions with Southern ministers—their deference to political men high in office—their aversion to the Garrison school of abolitionists—their unwillingness to offend rich parishioners in trade with the South, or associated in political parties with Southern men, are the reasons why many are silent, equivocal, or opposed to the cause of abolition. Christians on your side the Atlantic can aid us essentially, if they continue to bear decided testimony against slavery, slaveholders, their apologists, and those who are not out-spoken *at home*, against the giant sin of this country.

To-day I have addressed a letter to Rev. James Sherman, respecting the abolitionism of Rev. Mr. Chickering, who lately appeared at public

meetings in London as an American clerical abolitionist, when he was wholly undeserving of the character. Judge Darling, also, who was recently received among you as an anti-slavery man, does nothing in his own country, so far as I can learn, in aid of the cause.

I am advised that Rev. John O. Fiske, of Bath, Maine, is now on his way to England. A sermon of his has been sent to me, "On the Duty of Obedience to Government," entitled "A Thanksgiving Sermon," preached on the day when so many of our ministers, with one consent, took the side of Government against the poor slave, after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill; and I have been urged by friends to the anti-slavery cause in the State of Maine to furnish British abolitionists with extracts in proof of the extreme pro-slavery character of the author. The text is, *Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, &c.*—a favourite text with this class of preachers. In allusion to the infamous Bill above-mentioned, he confounds disobedience to it with open resistance, and argues, that men have no right to disobey even such a law as that. Conscience, he avers, is not man's final tribunal (guide) "unless the individual is so enlightened that his conscience teaches him to obey the law of the land." But otherwise, "however conscientious any one may imagine himself to be, if he resists or disobeys Government, he is deceived—he resists the ordinance of God, and sins."

He says, "when called upon to aid in their escape (the fugitive slaves) * * * we ought to refuse." And, further:—

"It is the law of the land, that upon requisition of the master, in a prescribed form, the fugitive slave *shall be restored*, and that law ought to be obeyed, unless some express, written, Divine statute to the contrary can be produced. There is no such written statute, to my knowledge, in all the word of God. * * * *No written command of God forbidding us to return that slave can be adduced.* The state into which we are called upon to aid in his being returned, is not a state positively and expressly forbidden anywhere in the Word of God."

He calls abolitionists "agitators," "fanatics;" and of moral reformers says:—"compared with other evils, which attach to agitation of the subject, slavery, as bad as it is, is a most trifling affair."

It is consoling to know that a large number of American ministers, of different denominations—and the number is increasing—take high ground against slavery, and the abominable Fugitive Slave Bill; and that several eminent jurists allow that, under certain circumstances, a citizen may disobey an unconstitutional act. Chief Justice Shepley, of the same State with Mr. Fiske, in a recent charge to the grand jury, says:—

"A person may believe that an act of the Legislature is unauthorised by the Constitution of the State, or of the United States; and the inquiry is presented, whether he should object? . . . After obtaining the best information within his power . . . he may assume the responsibility, disregard the enactment, and abide the consequences."

. . . "A person may believe that an act of a legislative body, legally passed in accordance with the provisions of the constitution by which it is governed, is contrary to the laws of God. The inquiry is then presented respecting his duty to Christ. When this has been ascertained clearly . . . the human law is to be disobeyed, and the Divine law obeyed. The person is not at liberty to obey the human law."

Mr. Justice McLean, also, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in a recent letter, goes farther, and says:—

"An unconstitutional Act of Congress imposes no obligation on a State, or the people of a State; and may be resisted by an individual, or a community. No one, I believe, will controvert this."

Respectfully yours,

LEWIS TAPPAN.

P.S.—Rev. Dr. Spring, of this city, has called my attention to the following passage, quoted from his thanksgiving discourse, in the recent "Annual Report of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society:—" "If by one prayer I could liberate every slave in the world, I would not dare to offer it." He says, *in the world should be—in the United States.* The quotation was taken from the newspapers of the day. To a note of inquiry, whether the newspaper report of the sermon was not correct as it was delivered, the reverend gentleman has made no reply. He is welcome to the correction.

AN INCIDENT IN THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The *Teazer* steam vessel, Lieutenant-Commander Selwyn, captured, March, 1849, the *Catarina de Bom Fim*, with 630 men, women, and children on board, and sent her away from the Bights, hoping to reach Sierra Leone in sixteen or twenty days, which unfortunately extended to forty-two days,—a period so long beyond the time calculated, that great distress occurred from want of provisions. A circumstance which would have done credit to the inhabitants of the most civilised country occurred during the distress which existed on board, and when they were nearly reduced to absolute want, as for the last three days they had only the dried husks of capsicums and salt to subsist upon. About three or four days before they were reduced to that extremity, a deputation of the men slaves came aft with an interpreter, and begged that the rest of the provisions then remaining should be dealt out to the women and children only, as they, the men, could last longer without food. Fortunately, within six days after that bright example, in a quarter where it could have been least expected, the vessel arrived at Sierra Leone, and the slaves were well provided for.

Literature.

Annual Report of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1851. Pp. 118. New York, William Harned.

The time is coming when the history of the struggle for human freedom in this, and other countries, will be looked upon as amongst the most valuable and interesting of all histories. But records, such as the one under review, however they may exhibit the growth of right sentiment and action, and mark the progress which a year's earnest and persevering effort may have achieved, must nevertheless fail to reveal the amount of self-denial and self-sacrifice involved in the maintenance of so determined a conflict.

The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is one of the most important of all the agencies in existence, in the United States, for the destruction of the accursed system of slavery. In addition to the large number of newspapers which sympathise with its fundamental principles, it numbers amongst its adherents a considerable portion of the thorough-going abolitionists of the States. We have received, during the past year, several of its interesting publications, having reference to the Fugitive Slave Law, and its operations. Amongst them we have one in Spanish, which is thus referred to in the Report:—

"During the last year the Committee sent an agent to New Mexico to inquire into the state of things, see what could be done to advance the anti-slavery cause, and co-operate with the friends of freedom in that territory. He is still there, and has communicated valuable information, while he is prosecuting his agency with discretion and ability. It was made part of his duty to circulate an address in English and Spanish, showing the unprofitableness of slave labour, and such other publications as would be useful to the mixed population of that incipient state."

The Society also publishes, annually, *The Liberty Almanac*, which, in addition to the usual information, contains facts and incidents of a stirring character, illustrative of the evils of slavery, the circulation of which is enormous.

We have been much gratified in the perusal of this Report, which contains a complete digest of anti-slavery information, gathered from all sources, so that reference has only to be made to the particular head, whether Congressional, Judicial, Ecclesiastical, or otherwise, to ascertain all that has transpired in reference to the anti-slavery cause. As we have endeavoured, from time to time, to keep our readers informed of what has transpired, we can only refer to one or two points of interest.

And first, in reference to the inveterate hatred of the South to all who oppose the "peculiar institution," and the sacrifices demanded of those who engage in anti-slavery efforts. We regret to find that a large number of the merchants and traders of the North, as well as time-serving clergymen, either from self-interest, or other equally discreditable motive, pay due homage to the pretensions of the slave power. The cry of non-intercourse seems to have had a wonderful effect, as the following will show:—

"The merchants in New York who were active in getting up the Union meeting, besides sustaining newspapers that advocate Southern views, sent papers and handbills all over the South, denouncing their neighbours who declined signing the call for the meeting, or who had expressed sentiments hostile to the 'peculiar institution,' in order to deter Southern merchants from purchasing goods of them, and to increase their own business;—all, of course, under the plea of patriotism. Some of these merchants issued cards, announcing to their Southern customers that they were not opposed to their institutions, and did not fellowship Northern merchants and others who were. These nefarious measures, calculated to alarm persons engaged in trade, to induce them to suppress their real convictions, and avow opinions not honestly held, were but too successful with the mass, both merchants and lawyers. Here and there a man was found who would not submit to such dictation, and scorned to earn his bread by sycophancy. Among them was a firm dealing largely in silk goods, Messrs. Bowen and McNamee, a portion of whose customers resided in the slave States. Having been denounced by pliable and patriotic rivals, who had been pre-eminently active in originating the Union meeting, they issued the following card:—

"The public, including the *New York Journal of Commerce*, are informed that we are silk merchants, and keep an extensive and well-assorted stock of goods, which we offer to responsible buyers on reasonable terms. As individuals, we entertain our own views on the various religious, moral, and political questions of the day, which we are neither afraid nor ashamed to declare on all proper occasions. But we wish it distinctly understood that our goods, and not our principles, are in the market. The attempt to punish us as *merchants* for the exercise of our liberty as *citizens*, we leave to the judgment of the community."

"Not to be outdone in patriotic zeal, several prominent clergymen in the city of New York and elsewhere, instigated by influential politicians, delivered discourses virtually in favour of sustaining the Compromise, and in opposition to anti-slavery agitation, as a means of preserving the Union, which they affected to believe was in imminent peril. The Union Safety Committee complimented the authors, requested for publication

such of these discourses as were most in accordance with their views, and distributed large editions of them throughout the country, numbers being sent to Washington to be franked by members of Congress."

We rejoice, however, to observe, in the midst of so many affecting instances of the unfaithfulness of the Christian ministry, that a considerable number have opened their mouths for the dumb, and have been actively engaged in arousing public sentiment against the iniquities of slavery. The Report says:—

"We have reason to believe that a large number of ministers of the Gospel of different denominations have spoken out boldly in reference to the Fugitive Slave Bill, and that during the past year a larger number than at any previous time have preached an anti-slavery Gospel. This is, we conceive, the most encouraging sign of the times. When, as a general thing, those who minister at God's altar proclaim the truth in its fulness, with regard to this giant iniquity, the churches may be expected to be right on the subject."

"The religious press, conducted principally by clergymen, has, with some exceptions, proclaimed its opposition to the unjust law, with unusual clearness and fidelity; and some of these publications, edited with much talent, have with remarkable eloquence and power vindicated the claims of humanity. Many of their ablest articles have been transferred into the secular press, and thus religion (through that portion of its ministers) has been duly honoured by large numbers who hitherto have had too much cause to believe that no inconsiderable number of the professed ambassadors of Christ were recreant to their Divine Master."

"Being fully persuaded that the conduct of a large number of the ministers of the Gospel in this country, from the commencement of the anti-slavery enterprise, has thrown obstacles in the way of its progress, and brought Christianity itself into dis-esteem, we rejoice to see talented and devoted ministers, especially the young, standing forth boldly as the champions of human rights, and refusing to be made the instrument of political men in defending iniquitous laws and party schemes."

In reference to the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law, the Report speaks thus:—

"Notwithstanding all that has been said in favour of the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Bill, lawyers and jurists not a few, competent to decide upon such a question, have pronounced it unconstitutional in its spirit and letter; and all the special pleading of its advocates has not been able to convince the great body of the people in the free States to the contrary. The people of this country have been too well instructed in the principles of the common law and civil liberty not to understand so simple a question as this. They know well the difference between a technical and a practical use of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and the other great securities provided in our system of government for the protection of its citizens, of whatever condition in society; and the law in question, like all other enactments in this country by the national legislature, must be adjudicated by the great Court of Errors—THE PEOPLE."

One of the more serious evils connected with the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law is the encouragement given to kidnappers, who are found prowling about, ever ready to spring upon their victims:—

"Not only is kidnapping under the forms of law carried on, but more secret villainies of this description are practised under cover of this Bill. When so many persons are sent into the free States, or are employed within them to hunt up, inform against, or seize fugitive slaves for reward, a strong temptation is furnished to kidnappers to molest and enslave persons who have been slaves, but who are now legally free, and people of colour who have always been free. There is proof that this has been done in many instances. The law, instead of being the friend of the defenceless, has become their enemy, and practices pronounced piratical and worthy of death, when committed on the African shore, are shielded when perpetrated in the free States of this country."

"Children have been carried off from their play-grounds, while on errands, or in the darkness of night; women have been persuaded to go South as servants; sailors have been shipped at Northern ports, taken to the South and sold, when they had been shipped, as they supposed, for foreign voyages. All this has been done in free States. The relations and friends of the unhappy victims have been unable to reclaim them. These things have been done to a greater extent than is usually supposed. In too many instances, the nefarious acts thus alluded to have been perpetrated, not by Southern men, but by Northern miscreants. It is not the least of the objections to the Fugitive Slave Bill, that it affords facilities to the marauding and successful enterprises of slave-hunters. It has rekindled the bad passions of slaveholders in all their connexions, and stimulated the cupidity of numerous wretches who can be hired to be their instruments."

We conclude our notice by extracting some of the concluding observations of the Report, which contain an epitome of past operations, and which discover how much is to be effected by earnest, persevering, and consistent effort:—

"Nearly eighteen years ago fifty-six men, from different States, met in convention in Philadelphia, formed a National Anti-Slavery Society, and promulgated a Declaration of Sentiments to their countrymen. They were men devoid of political influence, and few had wealth or prominent sta-

tions in society. But they had considered the subject of slavery, its opposition to the principles of the Government, its inhumanity, its ruinous tendency, the reproach it had brought on the country, and its guilt in the sight of God; and, with sincere love to their country, sympathy for their oppressed fellow-men, and reverence for the Governor of nations, they resolved to lift up a voice of remonstrance, entreaty, and warning, and to take such measures as were feasible, in the hope that by the blessing of God they should be able to arouse their countrymen to a sense of their iniquity and danger, and induce them to relinquish a system so ruinous to men, and so offensive to the Almighty.

"The promulgation of these sentiments, and the fearless but discreet advocacy of them, threw the country into great agitation. Slaveholders were exasperated. Northern men, with Southern principles, of all professions, sympathised with them. Merchants in the Southern trade became alarmed, and sycophantic politicians were denunciatory. Priests and Levites passed by on the other side. But the truth found its way, and did its appropriate work. Persons connected with slavery saw their error and became zealous emancipationists. Here and there a politician, at the risk of losing his popularity, boldly advocated the cause of freedom. Clergymen, in various parts of the country, dared to be singular and intrepid on the side of human rights. And now we find that the God of the oppressed has opened the eyes of a great multitude of our fellow-citizens to the enormous guilt and danger of slavery, so that men in every profession and position in society are adopting the sentiments and pursuing the measures of the early abolitionists. The opposition, however, in the free as well as in the slave States, is strong and virulent. Commercial interests, political ambition, and theological prejudice are arrayed against the cause, and the men who advocate it. But in spite of these, the anti-slavery sentiment is advancing to a glorious consummation."

UNITED STATES—OPERATION OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

The number of arrests under the Fugitive Slave Law appears to be diminishing; this arises, in part, from the removal of the fugitives to Canada and other places, and, moreover, to use the language of a well-informed correspondent, "it costs more than the slaves are worth. The act will eventually, therefore, be a dead letter. To repeal it would offend the pride of the South, and the Northern parties would lose their votes." Another difficulty arises from the extreme danger of allowing those who have tasted the sweets of liberty to intermingle with those who have never enjoyed the privileged possession of themselves, and the fruits of their own labour. Every now and then, however, in one State or another, arrests continue to be made, and considerable excitement results as a consequence. The last American mail brought the following, the detailed particulars of which have not yet reached us:—

ARREST OF A FUGITIVE AT BUFFALO.

"The arrest of a fugitive slave at Buffalo had created much excitement. The second cook of a steamboat, named Daniels, was arrested and claimed as a fugitive slave from Kentucky. When he was taken, the son of the claimant stepped up behind him, while he was passing along on the boat at his ordinary avocations, and felled him to the deck with one blow of a billet of wood. The blow was a severe one, laying open the back part of his head and rendering him senseless. The excuse given for this act was understood by some who were present at the examination to be, that he had a carving knife in his hand, with which he intended to attack his assailant. The prisoner was taken to the court-house under charge of the mayor, a large body of police, and two or three companies of firemen, who were called out for the occasion. Considerable difficulty was experienced in the undertaking, and several persons, acting as guardians, were dragged down and trampled under foot by the enraged multitude. A dense throng collected outside the court-house, blocking up the passages and rendering them impassable, thereby preventing all ingress or egress. The examination was held before United States Commissioner K. H. Smith. Only one witness was sworn—the same person that knocked the negro down. The negro did not deny being a slave. The examination was, consequently, brief, and resulted in an order for his return to Kentucky. He was then remanded to gaol, whence he was taken without much trouble. A warrant was afterwards taken out by one of the citizens, charging the negro's assailant with assault, and he was arrested and committed to gaol for trial. Before giving the order for the removal of the fugitive, one of the commissioners offered to subscribe towards purchasing his freedom."

Those who know anything of the abject submission required by the slave master, and the ordinary treatment of the poor slave, will not be so much surprised at the inhumanity displayed towards Daniels. The excuse, that the man possessed a knife, which he intended to use, we believe to be a mere pretence.

Notwithstanding all the powers possessed by the slaveholders under the new law, they cannot prevent the slave from escaping. Instances are as frequent as ever of their flight for freedom. "During the last three or four days," says the *New Orleans Crescent*, "some eight or ten slaves have been missed from the premises of their owners, in different parts of the

city, and rewards have been offered for their apprehension. It is supposed that some secret system of inveigling slaves is in operation, and the officers of the different municipalities are busy in endeavouring to fathom the mystery. Late discoveries have shown that a complete system of supplying forged papers of freedom has been practised, and in one instance these documents have been found apparently so true, that none but those well versed in the manner in which they are drawn up and attested to, could detect them."

One of the worst features of the Fugitive Slave Law is the encouragement it gives the kidnappers, who too successfully practise their diabolical traffic. In many instances, children and young people become their victims. We give the following as instances. The *Pittsburgh Gazette* mentions the case of Charles Wedley, a coloured man, a native of Pittsburgh, where he has always resided:—

"Wedley," says the *Gazette*, "wishing to visit the eastern cities, but not having the means, was about to become a deck-hand on a river steamer, to earn funds, when a white man named Speer, and a coloured man named Linsey Lewis, who said they had plenty of money, offered to take him east, free of expense. He accepted their invitation."

"The three set out on foot, and when they reached Licking Creek, in Bedford county, a gang of ruffians rushed upon Wedley, and declared that they knew him well—that he was a slave, and had escaped from Wheeling. It is needless to say that this was a falsehood, poor Wedley having been born in this city, where he has ever since resided; but despite his resistance and prayers, he was ironed and hurried over the Maryland line. Lewis and Speer returned to Pittsburgh, without going to Philadelphia, as they now allege, for Wedley's free papers; but an aunt of the latter asking Lewis, after his arrival, where her nephew was, he said he had remained in Philadelphia."

"In the meantime, Wedley, closely guarded and heavily ironed, was taken into the interior of Maryland, where he was offered for sale to a man who fortunately was acquainted with a number of persons in Pittsburgh. He entered into conversation with the alleged slave, and found him so intelligent that he declared he would not purchase him at any price, because he knew too much, and would not only run off himself, but cause his other slaves to escape likewise."

"After a long conversation, in which Wedley described the street in which he resided; gave an account of the city; told the names of the principal inhabitants, their business, together with the names of all the mayors for some years back, the gentleman became convinced that he was a freeman. He was, however, taken away, and chained to a bed-post, where he remained for twenty hours, but was finally released by the gentleman who had interrogated him so closely, who likewise pointed out the road which he must pursue, in order to escape his kidnappers. He had been three days in irons."

"This gentleman deserves the highest credit for his kindness; since, otherwise, Wedley might have been doomed to drag out a life of hopeless servitude; and we only regret that we are unable to find out his name.—Towards the close of last week Wedley arrived in Pittsburgh, safe and sound, after an absence of two weeks, and we trust that the rascals who kidnapped him, whoever they be, may receive that punishment which they so well deserve."

The last number of the *Free Presbyterian*, published at Mercer, Pennsylvania, relates another case, no less flagrant:—

"A coloured man, named Frank Jackson, son of Elijah Jackson, of Newcastle, formerly of Mercer, is now confined in Fincastle gaol, in Virginia, as a fugitive slave; Frank went with a drover, named Charles May, some time since, to Richmond. While there, May sold him as a slave, without his knowledge, to a slaveholder named Jones. He escaped from the possession of Jones, but was arrested in a neighbouring county, and committed to gaol in Fincastle."

"An attorney of that place, named W. A. Glass, has written to Mercer and to Newcastle for certificates, as evidence that Frank is a free man. These have been forwarded from this place and from Newcastle. Jackson is rather deficient in natural talents, and hence might easily be made the dupe of a scoundrel."

"Every old citizen of Mercer knows that Frank was born free. But whether he will ever be restored to his birthright again, we suppose is doubtful. This is another precious illustration of the blessings of 'our peculiar institution.'"

ECCLESIASTICAL ACTION.

The following resolutions were adopted recently by the Hillsborough (N.H.) Conference of Congregational churches:—

"Whereas slaveholding, as regulated by the laws of the slaveholding States, is a great moral and political evil—a great evil to the slaveholder and to the slave, and ought to be opposed in its extension by appropriate means.

"That men, in relation to their fellow-men, are their own; and that they retain their ownership, unless they forfeit it by crime.

"That when one man takes another into his possession as his own property, and controls him at his pleasure, he robs him of his rights which the Author of nature had given him."

"That slaveholding, established by law, is no less a crime than the first act which robs a man of himself.

"That those who hold slaves by inheritance, or by purchase, have no more *moral* right to hold them as property, and treat them as pleasure or interest may dictate, than they have to import the natives of Africa and make them their bondmen.

"That it is *morally* right for the slaves to escape from bondage, and when they have thus gained their liberty, the act of capturing or aiding in capturing them, for the purpose of returning them to bondage, is one of the same nature as the first act of enslaving them.

"That the law which provides for the capture and return of fugitive slaves, and requiring men in the free States to aid in their capture and return, is the same in moral principle as the providing for the capture and enslavement of any other free men, and requiring our citizens to aid in the work.

"That the present Fugitive Slave Law imposes a service on the citizens of the free States that violates their natural and religious rights.

"That it is better to suffer the penalty of the Fugitive Slave Law than to aid to carry it into execution.

"That it is the duty of all citizens to use all judicious and constitutional means for the *repeal* of this oppressive law."

SOUTHERN ACTION.

Whatever seeming benefits may have accrued to the South, and however their "rights" may have been respected by the Fugitive Slave Law, it is altogether insufficient for their purpose, and South Carolina still urges concession as the only remedy. Mr. Daniel Webster has been appealed to, as to whether a State has a right to secede from the Union, to which he has replied in the following terms:—

"The constitution of the United States recognises no right of secession, as existing in the people of any one State, or any number of States. It is not a limited Confederation, but a Government; and it proceeds upon the idea that it is to be perpetual, like other forms of Government, subject only to be dissolved by revolution. I confess I can form no idea of secession but as the result of a revolutionary movement. How is it possible, for instance, that South Carolina should secede and establish a Government foreign to that of the United States, thus dividing Georgia, which does not secede, from the rest of the Union? Depend upon it, that the secession of any one State would be but the first step in a process which must inevitably break up the entire Union into more or fewer parts. What I said at Capron Springs was an argument addressed to the North, and intended to convince the North that if, by its superiority of numbers, it should defeat the operation of a plain, undoubted, and undeniable injunction of the constitution, intended for the especial protection of the South, such a proceeding must necessarily end in the breaking up of the Government—that is to say, in a revolution."

INSURRECTION IN CUBA.

In our last number we referred, at some length, to the vast projects contemplated by the southern portion of the United States, for extending the area of slavery; amongst which, the annexation of Cuba stood in the foreground. It had, indeed, become a matter of public notoriety, that another attempt was about to be made, as the following extract from the *United States National Intelligencer* will show:—"Information has, we understand, been received in this city, that the parties heretofore engaged in the enterprise against the island of Cuba, have not yet abandoned their criminal intentions, but threaten that they will renew the attempt, a few months hence. It is said that some hundreds of those who have been engaged for the purpose are to be sent to Cuba during the summer, in small numbers, by different vessels, as mechanics seeking employment on the island in their respective professions, but who will secretly provide themselves with arms, and be prepared in a body to join any armed expedition which may succeed in landing."

The next accounts brought us intelligence of a meeting which had been held in New Orleans, in favour of the Cuban insurrection, at which a considerable subscription was made to promote it. Two steamers, with one thousand men (another account says six hundred), were reported to have sailed, with Lopez at their head, whilst detachments had left other ports. It was not until the fact of these vessels having sailed had become a matter of notoriety, that the United States Government seem to have taken any steps in the matter. Eventually, however, a steamer was despatched to cruise off the coast of Cuba, to act as circumstances might require. A Spanish squadron is also on the look-out, for the purpose of capturing the hostile expedition. In the meantime, the press of the United States is filled with the most exaggerated statements as to the progress of the insurrection. We give the following as a specimen of existing feeling:—"The Cuban flag has been floating to-day from the New York *Sun* building, and at an early hour this evening there was a large gathering of the friends of Cuba, in the vicinity of Nassau and Fulton streets. A procession, numbering about one hundred young Cubans, subsequently marched through the city, preceded by a band of music. Care was taken to visit all the newspaper offices, before each of which the procession halted and sent up shouts of enthusiasm."

The *Times*, in referring to similar information to the foregoing, justly remarks:—"If these facts are correctly given, a repetition of the scandalous outrage committed by Lopez and his band, when he attempted the invasion of Cuba last year, has by this time actually taken place. If anything could increase the disgrace of an attempt to make war on the colony of a friendly nation, with a troop of adventurers, who are pirates, claiming, when it suits them, the protection of the United States, it is the fact that such a violation of law and good faith should not only have occurred, but have occurred twice. The American Government has had the fullest proof of the abuses justly complained of by Spain. Yet, whilst its own laws were powerless to punish this violation of a friendly territory, the influence of the United States' agents was exerted to rescue the prisoners from the fate they had deserved; and these very same persons having got back to New Orleans and Mobile, have continued to plot with impunity against the peace and security of the Queen of Spain's dominions, until this new outbreak summons them a second time to the scene of action. The American Government has at length despatched a steamer of war to cruise off the Cuban coast; but nothing can palliate the remissness or inefficiency of the authorities in the United States, who allow preparations to be publicly made, and expeditions to put to sea, for which they afterwards disclaim all responsibility. In such a case it is probable that nothing but the severest measures of repression will be of any avail; and as there is no greater curse to mankind than private wars, carried on by adventurers or bucaniers on their own account, without the shelter of any national flag or any responsible authority, so there is no crime which exposes the persons committing it to more condign and indiscriminating punishment. A general rebellion in Cuba, instigated by American sympathisers, and inflamed, as it must ultimately be, by the passions of the negroes let loose upon the island, would combine all the horrors and evils from which humanity recoils; and it would render any Government, by whose connivance or apathy such atrocities have been rendered possible, obnoxious to the strongest censure and remonstrance."

The most contradictory accounts have been received of the extent and success of the insurrection, so that it is hardly possible to present an accredited record of events. One thing, however, is certain, that the insurrection commenced in the neighbourhood of Puerto del Principe, a populous and wealthy town lying near the centre of the island, on the spurs of the Cascorro mountains, on or about the 5th of July last. The numbers allied to and fighting under the leadership of Agüero, the head of the insurrectionists, is said to be very small. Some temporary advantage appears, in the first instance, to have followed this engagement, but later accounts speak of continued success on the part of the Queen's troops. Amongst the latest items of intelligence we have the following:—

"Accounts from Neuvas to the 2nd August have reached New York. They are not favourable to the insurgent cause in that locality.

"The Government had concentrated three thousand troops in the department, and divided them up into columns of eight hundred each, for the purpose of scouring the whole country around Principe, and driving the revolvers from their positions. They had succeeded in defeating and scattering the band led by Don Joaquim Agüero y Agüero, and in capturing Agüero and a number of his party. A few of the party escaped, succeeded in reaching the sea-shore, and embarked for the United States. Two of the party who made the first pronunciamiento at Principe have arrived at New York. They were of Agüero's party, and were with him when defeated by the troops.

"They state that they fear that the immense military force sent to the central department has succeeded in exterminating the patriot bands. The Government authorities had succeeded, by inducing the mothers of the revolvers to go and entreat their sons to lay down their arms and accept the proffered pardon, in weakening the strength of the patriots. Many yielded to the entreaties of their mothers, and this served to dispirit others. Other parts of the island are represented to be making pronunciamientos and organising guerilla bands, though with what success remains to be seen.

"The Cubans are miserably deficient in arms and all the equipments of war.

"Where all this is to end, it is impossible to say; but we fear that these repeated invasions on the part of the United States will tend to increase disaffection, not only amongst the troops, but those who are at present well-disposed, and leave the island a prey to the unscrupulous power which is aiming at its possession."

VENEZUELA.—ATTEMPT TO REDUCE BRITISH SUBJECTS INTO THE CONDITION OF SLAVES.

From facts which have come to our knowledge, there can be no doubt that attempts have been made, from time to time, under one pretence or another, to decoy away the coloured inhabitants of our colonies, for the purpose of selling them into a state of slavery. There is every reason to fear that, in the United States, there are many victims of the cruel lust and cupidity of the trafficker in human flesh. We are glad to find that the Anti-slavery Societies of our colonies are so vigorously engaged in carrying out the objects aimed at

in their formation, as the following, amongst other exposures, indicate. We take the annexed article from the Barbadoes *West Indian*, of the 21st of July last:—"We have extracted from the *Demerara Royal Gazette* an article of some interest to the West India reader generally, but to tradesmen and others of that class particularly. We refer, of course, to the statement concerning the attempt to reduce to slavery, in Venezuela, certain individuals who had been decoyed from Georgetown, on the pretence of obtaining gold from the Upata river. The attempt failed in this instance, owing to the prompt and active efforts of the British Consul; but few, we think, would be found willing, with all their desire to acquire gold, to take the risk to which these people were exposed. We have been more disposed to give publicity, and to direct especial attention to this statement, because we happen to know that many of our own people have been decoyed from the island in foreign ships, and nothing beyond the fact that they were last seen in slave countries, has been ascertained respecting them. Mention was made, at the meeting of the Anti-slavery Society last year, of the case of a man, named Shepherd, who had been seen in prison in Charleston, S.C., and who, there was every reason to believe, had been reduced to the condition of a slave. Every attempt, through private sources, to trace the unhappy man, has failed of success. The attention of the Anti-slavery Society has been given to the important subject, and we have no doubt that they will take steps to put the people of this and the neighbouring colonies on their guard against the artifices of designing knaves, like those referred to in the *Demerara* paper, and who are to be found prowling about every West India community."

Whilst the subject of Venezuela is before us, we would direct the attention of our readers to one or two extracts from the Blue Books just delivered. From a correspondence which has taken place between the acting Consul-general and the Venezuela minister, it would appear that the cases referred to in the foregoing article are not the only ones of British subjects being held, or attempted to be held, as slaves; and although success has not yet crowned the efforts of our Consul to obtain their release, measures are being taken to secure it.

MANUMISSION IN VENEZUELA.

In the midst of much that appears unfavourable, we are glad to find, from the Slave-trade Papers, that the press is urging the necessity of final measures being taken to secure emancipation. The *El Republicano*, a Caracas newspaper, speaks thus, in an article headed "MANUMISSION:"—

"The mere utterance by us of this philanthropic word has sufficed to alarm the timid, and it has served as a pretext to the wicked to misrepresent our intentions, and to combat our laudable desire to see slavery disappear without injuring the proprietor. The 'den of thieves' has already made itself heard through one of those shameless organs that abound amongst them; and utterly regardless of the universal opinion that proclaims the abolition of slavery, they have dared to insult liberty and civilisation, by designating slavery as the 'motor of territorial wealth,' as if territorial wealth was only to be found where there are slaves,—as if there could be no territorial wealth without slaves.

"It has also been said, 'that this is not the opportunity.' How! Is it not the opportunity for treating of the liberty of the individual, after forty years of independence? And when will this opportunity arrive? When the Venezuelans, who groan under slavery, have died in it? We believe there is neither patriotism nor good faith in advising or thinking that this question should be deferred, as evils are not to be cured by feigning to forget them, but by applying to them the proper remedies. However much we may propose to ourselves not to speak of slavery, nor to pronounce the word 'manumission,' none the less on that account will the former cease to be a reality, and the latter one of the most urgent necessities of our situation. After so many years in which we have been invoking liberty, and conquering in her name, the maintenance of slavery is a contradiction; and a good patriot ought to hasten to abolish it, by determining on the means that may conciliate the opposite interests of the slave and of the master, and these means are manumission. * * * Venezuela may perhaps have 14,000 slaves, which, valuing the males at 200 dollars, and the females at 150 dollars each, gives a total of 2,450,000 dollars. Our national income is 2,500,000 dollars, the tenth part of which is 250,000 dollars; and by deducting so many per cent. of the slaves that would die in the course of six years, and by adding the 10 per cent. corresponding to the interest of our income in those six years, and the sums that would not require to be paid for such slaves as may have something to assist them in obtaining their manumission, who would be preferred by the respective Juntas, it is demonstrated that within six years slavery would have disappeared, and the owners would be indemnified for their capital, which death would have reduced to one-half in that period.

"And after this demonstration, can there be men so wicked, so infamous, as to distort our opinions, in order to intimidate some, and to flatter the propensity to tyranny of others? Since it is shown that manumission will not prejudice but favour the owner, and that the burden to be borne by the public treasury is not insupportable, he who

can pronounce against manumission is nothing less than a bad man, a tyrant, and a monster of inhumanity."

In addition to the foregoing, the Blue Books contain the report of the Venezuelan Minister of the Interior to Congress, on the subject of manumission, in which he laudates the law of 1821, which declared that "the offspring of female slaves should be free; and that they should enter upon the enjoyment of their liberty at eighteen years of age. This right," the report says, "was and is irrevocable." That "the law of 1830, which deprived of three years of liberty those already born free, and who should have enjoyed that supreme blessing three years earlier, is contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of right. Abuses have been introduced, and injustice has been committed, which the Congress ought to reform with a strong hand." In order that justice may be administered in the Juntas, they should not be composed of proprietors alone, but an equal number of the manumitted should be associated with them. The report goes on to say, that "it is scandalous that an impost for the annual manumission of slaves, established twenty-eight years ago, should not have been levied with exactness, nor manumission religiously complied with, except during the two years that Bolivar governed Columbia. Rare have been the cases in which the precept has not been carried into effect in a manner imperfect, mean and obscure." It is necessary to impose a severe responsibility on the managers of the manumission branch, and to enjoin them, under definite penalties, in case of omission, that the statements of the receipts and disbursements, and of the monthly inspections, shall be published once a month in the Government Gazette. The report concludes by saying, as the Republic had to put an end to slavery, and did so in 1821, and as from that date it has gone on decreasing, we have arrived at that point at which we may affirm that within ten years there will be no slaves in Venezuela, inasmuch as it will not then even be worth while to keep those that remain."

We very much fear whether, even at that distant period, the point will be reached, unless the Government show more earnestness than they have done in applying the laws in existence for the accomplishment of the glorious object of human freedom.

EXPEDITION TO CENTRAL AFRICA.

We have much pleasure in laying before our readers the following information from our old friend and corresponding member, Mr. Richardson, in reference to his progress in his perilous but highly interesting mission:—

"Letters have been received, dated the 28th of February, from Mr. Richardson's expedition, which is accompanied by the two German Doctors, Barth and Overweg. The party had at length broken up from Ahir, where Dr. Barth had made an excursion to Aghades, and had entered Nigritia, the country or different States that lie around the Lake Tshad, the borders of which are so very little explored, that it is likely that the travellers will be kept in that neighbourhood a good while. A little after Christmas they arrived at a place called Damergu, and proceeded to Zinder, where the three travellers parted, each of them taking another route with his followers. Mr. Richardson is gone on the direct way to Kauka, not far from the shores of the Lake Tshad, the capital of the empire of Bornou; Dr. Overweg has taken a turn to the west, into the country of Adar, with the view of making a geological expedition; while Dr. Barth went by Tessana and Katschua to Kanu, the place from where his letters are dated. At Kauka, all three hoped to meet again, very soon afterwards. The travellers are still in high spirits, and do not complain the least about the hardships of the journey and ill-health. Their means, however, are almost at an end, as a new supply which was forwarded last summer has not reached them yet. The goods with which they travel and support themselves are, unfortunately, very unprofitably selected, so that they fetch only half the price they paid for them at Tripolis and Mourzouk. Besides, passing from the country and protection of one chief to that of another has cost them a great deal, as they are obliged to pay very high for every person and camel. They hope, however, to find at Kauka the long-promised supply, and letters from Europe, for which they have been waiting since June of last year. Their courage was not broken in the least, and they still keep up the plan to approach the Upper Nile as soon as they have explored the vicinity of the Lake Tshad, provided that the British and Prussian Governments will help them on. The interest of the scientific public will be principally excited by a very extensive report which has been received from Dr. Barth, about his excursion from Teentellust to Aghades, where he witnessed the investiture of the new Sultan, Abd-el-Kader, and collected a quantity of materials about the history, topography, and ethnography of a hitherto almost unknown spot south of the Sahara. The report, to which a complete glossary of the Haussa and Enghedesie languages, some itineraries, and maps are annexed, is now in the hands of Lord Palmerston; and there is every reason to hope that it will soon be published, and will occasion a general interest for an expedition, which has undertaken to examine the very core of the unknown continent, and to solve also, if possible, the ancient mystery about the source from which the Nile originates."

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA. — SMITH'S AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY. — We have been favoured with a copy of the last annual report of the directors to the proprietors, presented to a meeting held in Liverpool, in June last, from which we make the following extracts:—

The general meeting this year has been postponed, in order that the director resident in Jamaica, William Smith, Esq. (who has been able to make arrangements to meet his colleagues, and go fully into some important questions relative to the machinery provided when the Society commenced operations, and other subjects) might also be present at the general meeting of proprietors, and give them the fullest information on all points that may be desired.

The following accounts give the results of the Society's operations on the Retreat and Cornwall estates respectively, during the year 1850:—

RETREAT.—Net proceeds of 113 hogsheads, 1 tierce,

of sugar	£1879 16 11
Ditto of 83 puncheons of rum	1482 19 3

£3362 16 2

Deduct—

Payments in Jamaica, including one moiety of expenses for general management and cost of supplies from England ..	£2729 0 8
One moiety of one year's expenses in England, including direction	149 18 7

2879 19 3

Leaving a net profit of £482 16 11

CORNWALL.—Net proceeds of 198 hogsheads of sugar.. 3237 0 0

Ditto of 121 puncheons of rum	1916 9 5
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£5153 9 5

Deduct—

Payments in Jamaica, including one moiety of expenses for general management and rent, and cost of supplies	£3661 1 2
One moiety of one year's expenses in England, including direction	149 18 8

3810 19 10

Leaving a net profit of £1342 9 7

Thus the net profits of the two estates amount, it will be seen, to the sum of £1825 6s. 6d., which is somewhat more than seven per cent. on the entire paid-up capital of the company.

The directors cannot but congratulate their proprietors on the expectations with which this undertaking was commenced being at length, to this extent, actually realised. The shareholders are, however, of course aware of the difficulties and distress to which Jamaica has been subjected by the awfully severe visitation of Asiatic cholera, during the six months ending in March last; and although the parish of Westmoreland, in which the company's estates are situated, has providentially escaped its appalling ravages on human life, these estates have inevitably suffered, as regards the present crops, from extreme want of labourers from the adjoining parishes, the general panic throughout the island, and the heavy duties devolving upon the managers for the preservation of the public health. The present crop upon Retreat, although short of what there was every reason to expect, is nevertheless somewhat in excess of last year; but that upon Cornwall has, they regret to say, fallen considerably short. It is nevertheless gratifying to believe, that the operations of the year will result in profit; and as the condition of the estates has been very fully maintained, the directors conceive that (having regard to the reserved surplus which it is needful to maintain for unforeseen contingencies) they are now fairly warranted in declaring a dividend of 5 per cent. on the capital of the company for the past year.

The Report goes on to say, the further diminution (by pestilence) of the previously insufficient supply of labour, and its injurious effects upon the proper cultivation of West India property, as well as in causing exorbitant demands for wages, has led all those who are interested in the prosperity of Jamaica, and the results of free labour, to look with much anxiety for steps on the part of Government to secure a large and early supply of fresh labourers as may be practicable.

The directors continue to watch with great interest the various alleged improvements in the manufacture of sugar, which have been brought into operation during the last eighteen months, but without being yet prepared to venture upon any outlay of capital upon their adoption.

THEODORE W. RATHBONE, Chairman.

COTTON CULTIVATION.—Mr. McGeachy, whose attention has been particularly directed to the cultivation of cotton in this island, after

lamenting the prices of labour through the deaths occasioned by the cholera, thus writes to the *Standard and Despatch*:—"Cottons of all kinds, in all parts, have been tried, and have been found to grow well. The particular and best kinds, for particular places, have suggested themselves, and persons will adopt them accordingly.

"I have seen an infinite number of our cotton spots scattered about, choked with weeds. I have also seen some of our plantations (varying from 60 to 100 acres) in beautiful order, and growing and bearing luxuriantly. In some instances the same disappointments have occurred here that occur in the cotton States of America. American cotton planters (now in Jamaica) have seen them too, and treat them lightly. I met one of these gentlemen lately at the Honorable Alexander Bravo's, whose cotton plantation this American gentleman thought well of. Should he embark in cotton here, as he seems very desirous of doing, and succeeds, hundreds from America, he says, will follow his example. He seemed struck with the unceasing luxuriance of vegetation and fine soil of the island; but he does not expect to reap his harvest without labour, trouble, and occasional disappointment. Let a Jamaica man go, even into the inexhaustible alluvials of Ohio or Illinois, and with a six or eight months' winter on his hands, and see if he can do more there than he can in even fallen Jamaica! Work is the word in either place.

"But again to the cotton point. The Greenwall Company, I believe, is succeeding admirably, and I was told to-day shares were at a premium. It is managed by an American gentleman, a Sea Island cotton planter. A friend of mine, Mr. Williams, lately from Glasgow (extensively concerned in cotton manufactories there), visited Greenwall, and showed the samples of its cotton, which he told me he had hardly ever seen surpassed. He has just left on a tour through the cotton States of America, and is very desirous of setting cotton in our island.

"Mr. Weguelin's plantation, too, near Spanish Town, I think very highly of. His cotton is beautiful and abundant. I had the opportunity of experimenting on the yielding by picking promiscuously in his field and weighing the cotton, when I found that it took only 532 pods or bolls to yield one pound of clean marketable cotton, worth about 1s. 8d. to 2s. per lb. Mr. Wilkie, the overseer, also picked in the field as I picked; and by weighing his picking checked mine, and obtained the same result, as near as possible, viz., one pound from 532 bolls. This is good yielding. In some of my experiments I have found it to be upwards of 800 bolls to the pound.

"Cotton is in its perfect infancy here even yet, and it will every day improve. It is the simplest of all staples. Even the cultivation and manufacture of the common articles of arrowroot and ginger are complex, compared to it. I have no time, else I could give you the results of many observations on the subject, of increasing interest and import, which I hope will soon take a firm stand here and in our other half-abandoned sugar colonies.

"At Mr. Bravo's, the cotton gins (saw and roller) are at work, as well as the cotton baling press: and a week or two ago I met a waggon on the Old Harbour Road loaded with bales of cotton, as well put up as I ever saw them in America, and on their way to the shipping port. They were from Mr. Bravo's, or from Cherry Garden estate, the property of Ralph Bernal, Esq., M.P."

ARRIVAL OF IMMIGRANTS.—The American brig "Yucatan," which arrived yesterday from New York, brought many coloured immigrants from the States. It is not stated for what purpose they have come here, but we believe that they have something to do with cotton cultivation in this island. Some gentlemen have recently arrived here from Georgia to investigate into the capabilities of the soil for that production.—*Falmouth Post*, July 1.

Sir Charles Grey has elevated to a seat at the Jamaica Council Board, Mr. Jordan, — a coloured gentleman, and one of the editors and proprietors of the *Jamaica Morning Journal*. Mr. Jordan has been for several years a leading member on the liberal side in the House of Assembly,—and where he sat side by side with the man who a few years ago, on account of his colour, ejected him disdainfully from his clerkship. He is also Alderman of the city, and one of its local magistrates. He is now Inspector of the same prison in which he was formerly immured as a "pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition!" for advocating the rights of the race to which he belongs.

TRINIDAD.—The sugar crop of 1851 may be now said to have been duly reaped in. Here and there, where, the estate being near to the sea, there is assurance of being able to get the sugar to the shipping place, a few more hogsheads are being made, by planters belated in their arrangements; but the sugar thus made must be so mere a trifle as not to present any obstacle to making a computation of the whole crop sent away, afloat, and in course of shipment. Very good judges estimate the totality at 30,000 hogsheads—as large a crop as we have ever made, but one which we see no good reason for doubting will be maintained, if not surpassed, in any future year. Trinidad may safely, therefore, take rank from henceforth as a 30,000 hogshead colony: and seeing the large proportion of hogsheads of 40-inch truss made this year, and the very considerable number of forty-twos, the whole crop may be taken as an average of 40-inch truss.—*Port of Spain Gazette*, June 17.

BARBADOES—THE SUGAR CROP.—From the information we have obtained, from a partial personal knowledge, and the statements of our correspondents, we state that there can be no doubt the sugar crop will be brought to a close, and the mill points lowered, within the coming fortnight or three weeks. Only a few estates in the middle way of the island are now at work, and the average extent of the crop is taken, in view of the quantity already shipped, and on the eve of shipment, at not less than 37,000, and it may be a higher number, falling little short of 38,000 hogsheads, of a size much larger than has heretofore been exported—that of 42-inch truss; showing, as we have frequently done, the vast importance of Barbadoes as a productive soil, the return from which, of all kinds of food, exclusive of the yield of aloes, cotton, arrowroot, &c., is to an extent beyond the conception of any one who has never been on the spot, and witnessed the energy and industry of the planter—has not seen the garden fields, as they may be named, from which the abundance referred to is obtained. A population, numbering not less than 150,000 persons, of all ranks and classes, if the figures are not incorrect, are sustained in the island, notwithstanding the exportation of native food, to a large extent, at the time of reaping. We allude to this fact in illustration of the assumption here grounded, and for the information of non-residents, many of whom are landed proprietors, who feel anxious to know of their prosperity; and we also feel that it is our duty, as frequently as circumstances justify us in doing so, to bring the value of property prominently before the eye of the British capitalist, that he may rest satisfied of the stability of the country. More important still, the late investment of large capital in sugar-growing lands, by residents in the mother country, induces us thus elaborately to explain the true condition of the colony, founded on the experience of practical men, who confess that our prospects are very bright, and likely to continue so, if left unfettered in everything relating to them, and if all due encouragement be assured.

Produce exported—31,730 hhds., 2,273 tcs., 6,313 barrels sugar; 5,120 puns., 173 hhds., 105 barrels molasses.—*Mercury*, June 27.

GRENADA.—The crops have been finished, and the expectations previously entertained of them fully realised. “It is believed,” says the *Chronicle*, “that the increase of sugar, over last year’s production, will be above 2,000 hogsheads. We are informed that, with an exception here and there, the present cultivation looks well, and gives promise of a good return.”

The “Act to encourage the introduction of labourers from the United States of America,” recently passed the Legislature, having been assented to by the Executive, was proclaimed in town yesterday forenoon.—*St. George’s Chronicle*, July 25.

THE FRENCH COLONIES.—We learn from the *St. Lucia Palladium*, that Admiral Vaillant, the Governor-General of the French Antilles, had arrived, and been inaugurated into office. He had issued the following proclamation:—

“Inhabitants of Martinique and of Guadeloupe! Called by the President of the Republic to the honour of being Governor-General of the French Antilles, I have come amongst you animated by feelings of the deepest sympathy in all your interests; of which I will unremittently give proofs, by a scrupulous observance of the principle of equality, a profound regard to the rights of all, a constant exercise of the spirit of conciliation over the several parties of the population, a persevering study to keep aloof from all that might tend to recall by-gone prejudices of race, and by holding the sanctuary of justice inaccessible to every influence of that nature.

“Let all be fully convinced that the Government, as well in the colonies as in France, acknowledges none but citizens free and equal before it as before the law. Be it well understood, that the superior authority will employ the greatest activity and unmoveable firmness in suppressing disorders likely to produce guilty excitements, and that it will be watchful and severe against calumnies designed to create doubts as to the freedom and the rights which our laws have for ever made sacred.

“Inhabitants of the Antilles,—You excite to a very high degree the solicitude of the President of the Republic and of his Government. Be you all united in those Christian and brotherly feelings preached to you by the worthy ministers of our holy religion; and pursue with perseverance that work of peace and conciliation which must lead to your success, and ensure the prosperity of these fine colonies, to be made productive by free and encouraged labour.”

From the same paper we learn that “the crops, which are estimated as being half reaped up to the 1st instant, show 20,716 hhds. to have been shipped from Martinique, and only 15,976 hhds. from Guadeloupe.

“There had been repeated shocks of earthquake at the last named island, on the 7th and 8th insts.

“Admiral Bruat, the ex-governor, embarked on the 13th, on board of the *Africaine*, for France.”

We have since received Martinique papers to June 23. By Custom-house reports, printed in these papers, it is shown, that in the six months elapsed up to the 1st instant, there had been exported from Martinique 26,698 hhds. sugar, and from Guadeloupe 21,747 hhds., making a

difference of 4,951 hhds. in favour of the former island. Upon this state of things, the *Courrier* remarks:—

“When it is considered that for a period of thirty years, from 1818 to 1847, Guadeloupe shipped one-fifth more of sugar than Martinique, it follows that, for the two colonies to arrive at an equal footing of prosperity, Guadeloupe must not only make up these 4,951 hhds. at the least, but must reckon, above that, the fifth of 26,698, namely 5,339 hhds.”

The whole crop of Martinique for the present year, it is anticipated, will amount to 50,000 casks; whilst that of Guadeloupe, allowing that she has yet two-fifths of her crop to reap, will not exceed 36,245 casks.—*St. Lucia Palladium*.

Miscellanea.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.—DESTRUCTION OF AN AMERICAN SLAVE-STEAMER.—It seems that the late affair of the blowing up of the American steam-ship *Sarah*, charged with being implicated in furnishing certain slave-traders in the harbour of Rio Janeiro with supplies, will be immediately laid before this Government by Mr. Todd, the American minister. The British steamer *Cormorant* appears to have made no bones of the matter, but executed the business of blowing up the American vessel with the greatest coolness, notwithstanding the United States sloop-of-war *Dale* was lying at the time in the harbour. From these circumstances, we are rather disposed to suspect that the affair will turn out as harmlessly as the late flare-up with Portugal concerning the *General Armstrong*. Indeed, it is quite likely the Government will take no notice of the matter at all. By treaty between the United States and Great Britain, slave-traders between Africa and America are punishable as pirates; and John Bull seems particularly vigilant in his look-out for such Yankees as may be speculating in this contraband but profitable traffic. The case of the steam-tug *Sarah* is but one of many cases of the destruction or seizure by the British of American ships, or ships under the American flag, engaged in or suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade; and this case, as reported, is none of the best, either for indignation or indemnity. If reparation or apology is demanded of the British Government, it will be something “new under the sun.” We have no doubt, however, that this will be the last of it.—*New York Herald*.

SLAVERY ABOLISHED IN BOGOTA.—The Bogota Congress, as we learn by the last California steamer, adjourned May 29th. Previous to adjournment, it passed a law abolishing slavery in the Republic, to go into effect on the 1st day of January, 1852.

TEXAS.—By our last dates from Texas, we learn that there was great excitement at Rio Grande, in consequence of the Mexicans refusing to surrender a fugitive slave. An armed company of Texans had threatened to capture Presidio. It is said that 2,000 slaves have made their escape into Mexico.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following subscriptions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged.

	Donations.	Subscriptions.
London. —Sturge, Samuel	20 0 0	
Gurney, Samuel, Jun.....	25 0 0	
Binns, Thomas		1 0 0
Tottenham. —Ball, William		4 4 0
Liverpool. —Cropper, John	25 0 0	
Bradford (Yorks.) —Priestman, John		1 0 0
Foster, W. E.		1 0 0
Rathwill, Mary		1 0 0
Aked, Thomas		1 0 0
Holmes, Joseph		1 0 0
Harris, Henry		2 0 0
Harris, Alfred		1 0 0
Smith, D. H.		1 0 0
Dixon, James		0 10 0
Bottomly, George		0 10 0
Ecroyd, Benjamin		0 10 0
Snowden, John		0 10 0
Standfield, John, Jun.		0 2 6
Executors of William Wilson, instalment of Legacy for circulation of Anti-Slavery Tracts.....	15 0 0	
Bristol, Clifton. —Fothergill, Mr.....		3 0 0
Fothergill, Miss		3 0 0
Young, Rev. G. C.		0 10 6
Alton. —Crowley, Abraham	5 0 0	
Crowley, Henry	10 0 0	
Wisbeach. —Peckover, William.....	30 0 0	
Peckover, Susanna	5 0 0	
Darlington. —Pease, Edward.....	10 0 0	
Harris, John		1 0 0
Rochdale. —King, Henry		3 0 0
Charlbury. —Albright, William.....		1 0 0
Lewes. —Proud, Eliza.....		0 10 0
Kendal. —Marshall, Samuel		1 0 0
Leicester. —Newman, Henry		0 10 0
Halstead. —Jesup, James		0 10 0
Newcastle. —Executors of Isaac Richardson....	1 1 0	
Richardson, George.....		1 1 0
Demerara. —Smith’s Church, per Rev. E. A. Walbridge.....	1 15 6	
Toronto, Canada. —Stuart, Charles		1 1 0

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1st, 1851.

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE AND AMERICAN SLAVERY.

We have, in another place, copied and commended to our readers an article on the above subject, written by the editor of the *British Banner*. The topic is, however, of so much importance, in our estimation, that we shall venture to say a few more words upon it.

The object of the Evangelical Alliance is well known, and is one which every sincere and enlightened Christian must regard with the highest satisfaction. It is designed to unite, in still closer bonds of communion and fellowship, those Christians who regard the Holy Scriptures as the rule of their faith, and who hold the doctrines denominated Evangelical. We may, indeed, doubt the justice and expediency of excluding, by the terms of membership, some estimable bodies of Christians, including the Society of Friends, but on that point it is not our province to dwell.

We learn that the Evangelical Alliance has enrolled many friends in Great Britain, and not a few upon the continent of Europe, but that on the continent of America it has to a considerable extent failed. The difficulty that has beset its path in that country, is the discouragement it has thrown on slaveholding.

It may be fit matter of inquiry whether any step has been taken by the Evangelical Alliance that is justly liable to exception, in reference to the great sin of a large portion of America, and of many of the American churches; but we earnestly hope that an Association that professes to be evangelical, will be very careful not to expose itself to merited reproach, and to betray the cause it professes to promote, by the encouragement of a complicated system of inhumanity, injustice, and wickedness. We use these words advisedly, with a clear recollection of those evils which are inherent in slavery, and which were brought vividly under our notice during its existence in the British colonies. Will it be pretended that the almost unlimited power vested in the slave-master is not, in vast numbers of instances, abused to a dreadful extent, from motives of interest, passion, or lust? Will it be alleged that a title originally derived from the African slave-trade can confer a right to deprive a fellow and an immortal being of personal freedom, and to compel him to labour, without any recompence beyond the necessities of physical existence? Can it be denied that slavery is everywhere unfriendly to the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of the bondsman, when the laws of several of the American slave States forbid instruction in letters under heavy penalties, and whilst in none of them is the marriage relation among slaves secured by law? How can we too strongly condemn a system which, contrary to the laws of God and nature, allows husbands and wives, parents and children, to be at any moment separated from each other for life, at the will of the owner, or his legal representative?

It is, further, a most painful consideration connected with American slavery, that for many years past this system of wrong and wickedness has rapidly increased in magnitude, whether from importations of Africans, as formerly, or, more recently, from the natural increase of the slave population. Thus, at the period when the United States of America first became independent of Great Britain, the number of slaves did not amount to 700,000; and, by the last census, it has reached the vast total of 3,075,034. Unless some measure of emancipation be adopted, there is just reason to believe that this portion of the population will continue to increase, at a nearly similar ratio to that which has already taken place.

We appeal to every dispassionate mind, whether such an evil as we have described does not urgently call for some decisive remedy, and whether Christians in England and America ought to be satisfied to look with silent unconcern upon this foul blot on their holy profession.

Especially do we feel warranted in making this appeal, when we learn that a very large number of persons, connected with different churches, are stated to hold no less than 660,563 slaves, or more than one-fifth part of the whole number in the Union. We copy from the "Annual Report of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society for 1851," the following details on this affecting subject:—

Denominations.	Ministers.	Members.	No. of Slaves.
Methodists	5,080	1,178,637	219,563
Presbyterians, Old and New Schools	3,264	333,458	77,000
Baptists	6,598	812,921	125,000
Campbellites			101,000
Episcopalians	1,404	67,550	88,000
Other denominations			50,000

Total number of slaves held by ministers of the Gospel and members of the different Protestant Churches 660,563

Of the 219,563 slaves owned in the Methodist Church, the greater portion by far are owned in the Church South. The Church North, however, is by no means guiltless of the blood of the innocent. She has her churches in the South in which slaves are held, and the owners are in good standing. Dr. Durbin writes letters from Philadelphia to the Virginia slaveholders, to convince them that the Church North is in no way connected with abolitionism, and is in every way worthy of their confidence and support. And since the division of that Church, not a single Conference, quarterly or annual, to our knowledge, in the whole North, has declared slaveholding a bar to Christian communion, though they have been repeatedly solicited so to do.

The denominations above cited have under their control 89 colleges with 5,495 students, and 26 theological seminaries with about 700 students. Some of these colleges and seminaries have been built and endowed partly by the sale of slaves, and all are looking for slaveholding patronage.

We have not yet stated the whole of the outlines of the case of American slavery, as it stands connected with the American people and churches. Not only is slavery sanctioned by law in thirteen States of the Union, in which are contained the number of slaves we have mentioned, but every American citizen, whether in the slave or the free States, is liable to be called upon, under pain of a heavy fine and an imprisonment of twelve months, to assist in reducing the fugitive slave to his former bondage. This is done by virtue of a law recently passed, and whose chief supporters were Henry Clay and Daniel Webster,—men whom Dr. Baird delights to honour as the greatest politicians of our time. If it be said that this law is only a repetition of a former law which had been frequently evaded, and that it is in strict accordance with the original terms of the federal compact; we reply, that this is not a period in which greater stringency should be given to enactments intended to support a system wholly opposed to the enlightened humanity of the day in which we live. It may not be unprofitable to recollect that there was, at the same time, a compact entered into, from a similar subserviency to the wishes of slaveholding States, that the African slave-trade should be continued for a period of twenty years. We contend that both contracts were unjust and immoral, and that both ought alike to be erased from the American statute book. That a Fugitive Slave Bill has been recently passed in favour of despotism, we cannot but regard as a deep disgrace to the American legislature, and that portion of the people by whom it has been and is sustained.

We regret to add—and this surely deserves the serious attention of the Evangelical Alliance—that several of the great religious organisations of the United States are extremely careful not to touch, or only to touch in the most delicate manner, the great crime of their country. The American Religious Tract Society and the Sunday School Union have all but excluded from their works any condemnation of the system; whilst some missionaries, employed by the American Board of Foreign Missions, sanction slaveholding among their converts. We are informed, that one of the societies of which we have spoken—we think, the American Tract Society—in publishing the excellent work of the late J. J. Gurney, on "Love to God," has omitted a passage which the English edition contained, condemnatory of slavery, and which we suppose to have been the following:—"If this love (speaking of the love of our brother, enjoined in the New Testament) had always prevailed among professing Christians, where would have been the sword of the Crusader? Where the African slave-trade? Where that odious system which permits to man a property in his fellow, and converts rational beings into marketable chattels?" The books generally used in schools appear, so far as we have observed, to preserve a similar silence; whilst some eminent ministers of religion—to their shame be it spoken—have dared to lend their sanction to a system, hateful, we cannot doubt, in the eyes of God, and of every true Christian, who is unworped by the influence of ensnaring associations. We rejoice, however, that there are men, and not a very few occupying a prominent position among the politicians and theologians of the United States, who feel as we do on the subject of American slavery; and who would deplore, no less than ourselves, any uncertain sound on the part of the Evangelical Alliance, in respect to slaveholders and abettors of slavery, in whatever part of the world, or among whatever class of professors they may be found.

Our readers will be glad to hear that information has been received by letter, this day, that Mr. SCOBLE, the Secretary of the Society, has arrived safely at Boston, United States, en route to Canada; his object being to inquire into the condition and prospects of the coloured population—many hundreds of whom have lately escaped thither from the fury of the oppressor—and on other matters of considerable interest and importance.